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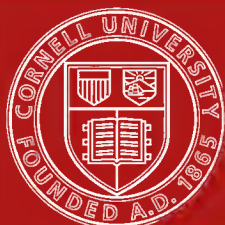
THE GIFT OF
JAMES MORGAN HART
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

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The stage-quarrel between Ben Jonson and



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zur englischen sprache und litteratur

herausgegeben

von

Eugen Kölbing

Heft I

Breslau

Verlag von M. & H. Marcus

1899

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THE STAGE-QUARREL
BETWEEN BEN JONSON
AND THE SO-CALLED POETASTERS

BY

ROSCOE ADDISON SMALL



Breslau
Verlag von M. & H. Marcus
1899
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Preface.

The author of this monograph did not live to see the whole of his book in type. At the time of his death he had read the proof-sheets of the first sixty-four pages. The complete work was, however, in the hands of the printer; the „copy“ had been prepared with great care, and there is no reason to believe that the author, in revising the proofs of pp. 65—200, would have made any changes of moment.

In substance the work is identical with the dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University by Mr. Small in May, 1897, in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and now deposited in the Library of the University. The form, however, in which the monograph appears, is the result of a careful revision carried out in 1897—98, and presents the author's final views on the subject of the great Elizabethan stage-quarrel between Ben Jonson and the „poetasters.“ The revision, however, was largely a matter of re-arrangement; for the author had so mastered his subject that he found little occasion to modify the opinions and arguments advanced in his original paper. The investigation grew, in the first instance, out of Dr. Small's studies with Professor Baker, who suggested the subject to him, and to whom he would certainly have wished to express his indebtedness for guidance and inspiration.

The brief biographical sketch which follows this Preface, was prepared at the request of Professor Kölbing.

G. L. K.

Cambridge, February 3d., 1899.

Roscoe Addison Small.

Roscoe Addison Small, the son of Addison and Florence S. Small, was born at Portland, Maine, January 10, 1871. After the usual preparatory course of study, he was matriculated, in 1888, at Bates College, Lewiston, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1892. In these undergraduate years Dr. Small gave clear evidence of the intellectual ability which was to distinguish his subsequent university career. From the outset, he took the lead among his fellow-students, and at graduation he was appointed the valedictorian of his class. From 1892 to 1894 he taught school, first in his native state, afterwards in Massachusetts. His tastes and aptitudes, however, were so distinctly in the direction of the advanced study of English that he decided to make this subject the occupation of his life. Accordingly, in September, 1893, he entered Harvard University, where he remained for four years, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1894, that of Master of Arts in 1895, and that of Doctor of Philosophy in 1897.

Dr. Small's career at the University was one of great distinction. He interpreted the meaning of his specialty, English Philology, in a scholarly and catholic sense. Already well grounded in the Greek and Latin classics, he gave himself with enthusiastic devotion not only to the linguistic and literary study of English, but to such ancillary subjects in Germanic and Romance philology as were requisite to a complete and well-rounded training. His methods were enlightened, his ideals were high, and his habit of mind was singularly accurate and alert. He worked rapidly, but surely, and this happy gift of nature more than compensated, to all appearances, for his uncertain health.

The many unsolved problems of Elizabethan literary history were an irresistible attraction to a young scholar of Dr. Small's acumen, and he resolved to give his attention particularly to this period. His study of John Marston, begun under the guidance of Professor Baker, tempted him to attack the vexed question of the famous stage-quarrel between Ben Jonson and the Poetasters. The idea was a welcome one to his instructors, who felt that the young critic's keenness and independence might well bring something to pass that should, it was not too much to hope, settle the long-debated problem. Dr. Small went at his task without prejudice. He had no thesis to maintain, nor was he committed to an attempt to overthrow any of his

predecessors. He saw clearly, however, that in the works of these predecessors a very slender basis of ascertained fact had been made to support an imposing structure of theory. Two problems, as he conceived the question, immediately confronted him: to ascertain the precise nature and extent of the definite evidence by submitting every document to a close scrutiny, and to subject the theories to the „dry light“ of this testimony. For both problems Dr. Small was fitted by both nature and training. Remarkably well versed in the Elizabethan drama and widely read in all periods of English literature, he was better able than many older scholars to judge of the validity of stylistic and metrical arguments. Trivial resemblances and commonplaces had for him no demonstrative power. But, along with this indispensable power of destructive criticism, he had a keen eye for the positive significance of details apparently trifling. And, finally, he had a high degree of constructive ability. Here and there in the pages that follow, the dispassionate and indifferent critic will detect, it may be, a slight saltus from the very highly probable to the completely demonstrated; but never, I think, will this be found to imply more than the emphatic form of statement with which an enthusiastic investigator who has really mastered his subject may be reasonably indulged. Never is there any doubt upon what evidence the conclusion rests. To involve the details of the subject in a Druidic mist in order to escape from an untenable position was a device equally abhorrent to this clear-sighted young scholar's intellectual and moral standards. I do not believe that there is a page in this monograph in which the reader does not know precisely where the author stands, and why. But it is needless to dwell on a merit which all who knew Dr. Small will take for granted and which he who runs may read.

Of the results of Dr. Small's investigation the learned world must judge. To the present writer they seem very considerable indeed. If they merely enabled us to draw our pens through several fantastic chapters of what has hitherto passed, with many, for literary history, they would be thoroughly worth while. But they do much more than this. They present, on the basis of all the extant evidence, a full and consistent history of a famous literary episode—a history which, except as here and there a detail may be added or subtracted by subsequent searchers, can hardly be much modified unless new documents shall come to light. Further, they show, for the first time, the Poetaster quarrel in its true proportions—not as a stage-war involving most of the poets of the time and profoundly affecting our dramatic literature, but as a limited affair, effecting but few men, intense enough while it lasted, but by no means far-reaching or very significant in its final outcome. How reasonable such a result is, everyone can see. All students of the drama know how different it is from the previous state of the question.

Dr. Small finished his dissertation in April, 1897, and received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the end of the ensuing June. At almost the same moment he was called to an English Instructorship at Brown University, Providence. His duties began in the September following, and

continued throughout the academic year. Though arduous, like most positions in American universities, they were thoroughly congenial. His success as a teacher was immediate and striking, and, at the end of his first year's term, in June, 1898, the University esteemed itself fortunate in securing his services for another year. Meantime Dr. Small had re-arranged and revised his dissertation, and printing had begun. Late in June, he returned to his home in Lewiston, apparently but little exhausted by the work of the year, in better health than usual, and with the pleasantest anticipations for the future.

On the night of July 4th, however, without warning, Dr. Small was attacked by what proved to be rheumatic fever. This affected the brain and the nerve centres and, on the 18th of the same month, he died, at the age of twenty-seven.

Of the intellectual qualities of this brilliant young scholar enough has already been said to show how great a loss American scholarship has suffered by his untimely death. The present monograph, and an article on "The Authorship and Date of The Insatiate Countess" published in volume V. of *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, constitute his literary legacy to the learned world. He projected a monograph on Dekker, which would have been of great value, but this he had not begun. Few men of his age have done so much and have done it so well.

It is impossible to close even this brief sketch without adverting, in a word, to the personal qualities which endeared Dr. Small alike to his instructors and to his fellows. He was a man of uncompromising integrity and uprightness, abhorring „whatsoever loveth or maketh a lie“; his religious convictions were deep, but unobtrusive; his devotion to duty was absolute. His abilities and his amiable and kindly enthusiasm won him many friends, and his goodness of nature ensured him against their loss. His life was undisturbed by sorrow and was filled with profitable occupation. It was short, but it was complete.

G. L. Kittredge.

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The investigation of the stage-quarrel between Ben Jonson and the other poets — the so-called Poetasters¹⁾ —, which reached its height in 1601, is of great importance in establishing the facts of the literary history of the last years of Elizabeth. Of this quarrel, Fleay says: „Any criticism of any play bearing as date of production one of the three years 1599 to 1601 which does not take account of this, for the time, stage-absorbing matter, must be imperfect and of small utility.“ (History of the Stage, p. 119).

In the comedies and epigram-collections of the time, I have found allusions which distinctly show the general interest in the matter. I quote a few:

„Some burden me (Paper), sith I oppresse the Stage,
 With all the gross Abuses of this Age,
 And presse mee after, that the world may see
 (As in a soiled Glasse) her selfe in mee,
 Where each man in, and out of's humor²⁾ pries
 Upon himselfe; and laughs untill he cries.
 Untrussing humerous Poets³⁾, and such Staffe
 (As might put plainest Patience in a Ruffe)
 I shew men; so, they see in mee and Elves

¹⁾ In this article, all references to Shakspeare's plays are to the Globe edition. References to Marston's works, except *Histrionastix* and *Jack Drum*, are to Bullen's edition of *Marston's Works*, London, 1887; to those two plays, they are to Richard Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, London, 1878, Vol. ii, act and line. References to Jonson's plays are generally to the *Mermaid* edition, act, scene, and page; references to plays not printed in that edition are to act and scene only. References to Dekker's works are to the edition printed by John Pearson, London, 1873, 4 vols. F. G. Fleay's *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, London, 1891, 2 vols., is referred to as *Chr.*; and J. H. Penniman's *War of the Theatres*, Boston, 1897, as *War*. Other references are given in full.

²⁾ Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* and *Every Man out of his Humour*.

³⁾ Dekker's *Satiromastix*.

Themselves scorn'd, and their Scorners scorne themselves.
 O wondrous Age! when Phoebus Ympes do turne
 Their armes of Witt against themselves in scorne
 For lack of better use: alack, alack,
 That lack should make them so their creditts crack!
 Is want of Wealth or Witt the cause thereof,
 That thus they make themselves a publick Scoffe?
 I wott not I, but yet I greatly feare,
 It is not with them as I would it were."

(John Davies of Hereford, *Paper's Complaint*, lines 137 ff., ed. A. B. Grosart, Chertsey Worthies' Library).

Fully as definite is the following:

"That poets should be made to vomit words¹⁾
 (As being so raw wit's maw could not digest)
 Hath to Wit's praise bin as so many swords
 To kill it quite in earnest, and in jest:
 Then, to untruss him (before Knights and Lords)²⁾
 Whose Muse hath power to untruss what not?
 Was a vain cast, tho' cast to hit a blot."

(John Davies of Hereford, *Wittes Pilgrimage*, p. 37, ed. Grosart).

In the comedy of *Lingua*³⁾ we read:

"That fellow in the bays, methinks I should have known him; O, 'tis Comedns, 'tis so; but he has become nowadays something humourous and too-too satirical up and down, like his great grandfather Aristophanes." (p. 416, Hazlitt's *Old English Plays*).

Also Chapman says:

"Who can show cause why th' ancient comic vein
 Of Eupolis and Cratinus (now revived
 Subject to personal application)
 Should be exploded by some bitter spleens?
 Yet merely comical and harmless jests
 (Though ne'er so witty) be esteemed but toys,
 If void of th' other satirism's sauce?" (prologue, *All Fools*)⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Jonson's *Poetaster*.

²⁾ Dekker's *Satiromastix*.

³⁾ *Lingua* was entered on the Stationers' Register Feb. 23, 1606/7. It was acted in 1602, else there would be no point in the following words: "I remember about the year 1602, many used this skew kind of language" (p. 393, Hazlitt's *Old English Plays*). For no sufficient reason, Fleay (*Chr. ii*, 261) assigns the play to 1603.

⁴⁾ *All Fools* was first mentioned by Henslowe on Jan. 22, 1598/9, under the name of *The World Runs on Wheels*. The play was revised about 1602-3, however, and without doubt the prologue belongs to this revision.

Our sources of contemporary external information about the details of the quarrel are four — Jonson's *Conversations with Drummond*, the *Apologetical Dialogue* added by Jonson to the *Poetaster*, the *Address to the Reader* prefixed by Dekker to his *Satiromastix*, and a brief passage in the *University play The Return from Parnassus*, Part ii.

In his *Conversations with Drummond* (*Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, January, 1619, London, printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1842), Jonson said of Marston:

„Marston wrott his Father-in-lawes preachings, and his Father-in-law his comedies“ ¹⁾. (p. 16). „He beat Marston and took his pistoll from him.“ (p. 11). „He had many quarrells with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him, wrote his *Poetaster* on him; the beginning of them were, that Marston represented him in the stage, in his youth given to venerie. He thought the use of a maide nothing in comparison to the wantoness of a wyfe, and would never have ane other mistress. He said two accidents strange befell him; one, that a man made his own wyfe to court him, whom he enjoyed two yeares ere he knew of it, and one day finding them by chance, was passingly delighted with it; ane other, lay divers tymes with a woman, who shew him all that he wished, except the last act, which she never would agree unto.“ (pp. 20—21).

Until this year, all critics have accepted these words as Jonson's, and, having searched in vain for any play in which he was represented by Marston as given to venery in his youth, have concluded either that he was lying or that he referred to some lost play. Both suppositions are mere fetches. Besides, the passage is very suspicious in other ways. The construction of the sentence „Marston represented him in the stage, in his youth given to venery“ is very odd; and it is extremely queer that Jonson, after remarking that Marston's notice of his youthful unchastity caused a series of bitter quarrels between the two friends, should immediately relate, with evident pride and relish, two discreditable stories about himself. I propose, then, without changing a single word, to punctuate as follows:

„He had many quarrells with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him; the beginning of them were, that Marston represented him in the stage.

¹⁾ Marston's father-in-law was the Reverend John Wilkes.

In his youth given to venerie. He (now, in his mature age) thought the use of a maide nothing in comparison to the wantoness of a wyfe, and would never have ane other mistress."

This change of a comma to a period makes plain the whole matter. It puts the words „in his youth given to venerie“ with the account of his youthful escapades, where they belong; it takes away the oddity of construction in the sentence; and, above all, it makes Jonson's words accord strictly with the facts of the case, as I shall show.

Penniman (War, 40, 41) has independently suggested a similar change. Queerly enough, however, he reads: „In his youth, given to venerie, he thought the use“ etc.; whereas, the words „he would never have ane other mistress“ clearly show that the word „wyfe“ refers to one's own wife, and that the sense is as I have indicated.

There is no valid objection to the emendation that I propose. Our text of the Conversations is not authoritative, having come down to us only in a manuscript copy of Drummond's notes, perhaps several times removed from the original. The mistake may have been made by a copyist; or, since Elizabethan punctuation is notoriously careless, by Drummond himself. The portion of the Conversations in which the passage in question occurs consists of wholly detached statements concerning Jonson's life; immediately before our passage, Jonson tells of the danger into which he fell for his share in Eastward Ho!; immediately after it, he tells how young Raleigh, his pupil, got him drunk and made him the sport of the people; hence nothing in the connection militates either for or against my emendation. Finally, we find in the Conversations many examples of carelessness as great as that shown in the verbless sentence „In his youth given to venerie“; for example, on page 28 we read: „A play of his, upon which he was accused, the Divell is ane Ass.“ We know, then, that in 1619 Jonson told Drummond that „He had many quarrels with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him; the beginning of them were, that Marston represented him in the stage.“

In Jonson's Conversations we find no detailed mention of Dekker. Jonson's opinion was, „That Sharpham,

Day, Dicker, were all rogues; and that Miusheew was one." (p. 4).

In 1601, shortly after the appearance of Dekker's *Satiromastix* in reply to Jonson's *Poetaster*, Jonson appended to his play an *Apologetical Dialogue*. In that apology he accuses his opponents of foul thoughts and evil lives. „Not one of them“, he says, „but lives himself, if known, *Improbior satiram scribente cinaedo*.“ He calls them:

„Fellows of practised and most laxative tongues,
Whose empty and eager bellies, i' the year,
Compel their brains to many desp'rate shifts.
(I spare to name 'hem; for their wretchedness,
Fury itself would pardon.) These, or such,
Whether of malice, or of ignorance,
Or itch t' have me their adversary, I know not,
Or all these mixt; but sure I am, three years
They did provoke me with their petulant styles
On every stage: and I at last unwilling,
But weary, I confess, of so much trouble,
Thought I would try if shame could win upon 'hem;
And therefore chose Augustus Caesar's times,
When wit, and arts, were at their height in Rome,
To shew that Virgil, Horace, and the rest
Of those great master-spirits, did not want
Detractors then, or practicers against them:
And by this line, although no parallel,
I hoped at last they would sit down and blush.“

From this Dialogue we learn also that Jonson had been accused of taxing in *The Poetaster* „The law, and lawyers; captains, and the players, By their particular names.“ The charges with regard to lawyers and captains he denies in toto; as for the players, he confesses that he

„taxed 'hem,
And yet, hut some; and those so sparingly,
As all the rest might have sat still, unquestioned,
Had they but had the wit, or conscience
To think well of themselves.“

In this Apology, then, after some vague and probably comparatively unfounded strictures upon the personal character of his opponents, Jonson tells us that the quarrel began „three years“ before the appearance of the *Poetaster* in 1601, that

is, about 1598; in it he declares that he was acting in self-defense, evades the accusation of personal satire on contemporary poets, excuses his onslaught on players, and denies attacking individual lawyers and captains.

In the address to the World prefixed to *Satiromastix* on its publication in 1602, Dekker says:

„I care not much if I make description . . . of that terrible Poetomachia, lately commenc'd betweene Horace the second, and a band of leane-witted Poetasters. They have bin at high wordes, and so high, that the ground could not serve them, but (for want of Chopins) have stalk't upon Stages.

„Horace hal'd his Poetasters to the Barre¹⁾, the Poetasters untruss'd Horace²⁾; how worthily eyther, or how wrongfully, (World) leave it to the Jurie: Horace (questionles) made himselfe beleeve, that his Burgonian wit³⁾ might desperately challenge all commers, and that none durst take up the foyles against him. It's likely, if he had not so beleiv'd, he had not been so deceiv'd, for hee was answer'd at his owne weapon: And if before Apollo himselfe (who is Coronator Poetarum) an Inquisition should be taken touching this lamentable merry murdering of Innocent Poetry: all Mount Helicon to Bun-hill, it would be found on the Poetasters side *Se defendendo*. Notwithstanding the Doctors think otherwise.“

¹⁾ Jonson's Poetaster.

²⁾ Dekker's *Satiromastix*, or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet.

³⁾ Several similar allusions occur:

„Whores, bedles, bawdes, and sergents filthily
Chaut Kemps jigge, or the Burgonians tragedy.“

(Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia*, 1598, Satire v.)

„Then falls he in again,
Jading our ears, and somewhat must be sain
Of blades and rapier-hilts, of surest guard,
Of Vincentio, and the Burgonian's ward.“

(Marston's *Scourge of Villany*, xi, 60—63.)

„You see mee kill a man, you see me hang like de Burgullian.“

(Jack Drum, ii, 180.)

In Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, iv, 2, p. 76, Cob speaks of Bobadil as „that fencing Burgullian“. Heretofore all these references have been erroneously explained as allusions to the „Bastard of Burgundy, who was overthrown at Smithfield in 1467 by Anthony Woodville.“ (Bullen, *Marston's Works*, iii, 373). The reference is really to John Barrose, „a Burgonian by nation, and a fencer by profession“, who in 1598 challenged all the fencers of England. He killed „an officer of the City“, and was hanged on July 10, 1598. (Stow's *Annales*, 787—b).

After a rather elaborate defense of himself, in which he asserts that in whipping Horace's „fortunes and condition of life“ he merely followed Horace's own example, and that, although he imitated Horace's *Tucca*, Horace's *Tucca* was in turn but an imitation of Captain Hannam, Dekker protests and swears „by the divinest part of true Poesie, that (howsoever the limmes of my naked lines may bee and I know have bin, tortur'd on the racke) they are free from conspiring the least disgrace to any man, but onely to our new Horace.“

Finally, in the second part of *The Return from Parnassus*, written at Cambridge about December, 1601, William Kempe, the clown of Shakspeare's company, is made to say: „O, that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow, he brought up Horace giving the Poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit.“ (iv, 5). This reference is important as informing us that Shakspeare was one of the „band of leane-witted Poetasters“ arrayed against Jonson.

From our four external sources of information, then, we learn the names of four of the participants in the strife, and the following facts: the beginning of the whole quarrel¹⁾ was about 1598; the quarrel between Jonson and Marston arose from the fact that Marston represented Jonson on the stage; the affair culminated in Jonson's *Poetaster*, written „on Marston“, in Dekker's *Satiromastix*²⁾, written against Horace-Jonson, and in the unnamed „purge“ administered by Shakspeare to Jonson.

For further information we are forced to turn to the comedies themselves. In dealing with the abundant evidence afforded by those comedies, modern critics have shown themselves singularly inefficient. Most of the older critics either entirely neglected the quarrel, or, misled by their desire to find new evidence relating to Shakspeare's life, dragged him into it without valid reasons. Until the early part of this century, men believed that Jonson was animated by hatred and jealousy of Shakspeare.

¹⁾ Not the quarrel between Jonson and Marston, as I shall show later. All previous critics have wrongly taken it as necessarily meaning that quarrel.

²⁾ Dekker speaks of the „Poetasters“ as having written it; hence he may have had at least advice from Marston.

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This idea Octavius Gilchrist¹⁾ strove to eradicate. In 1816, William Gifford, in the famous introduction to his edition of Ben Jonson's Works, made a furious onslaught upon the holders of that idea, superseding Gilchrist and in general refuting his opponents, but by the very violence of his attack tending to arouse prejudice against himself and his author.

Later, other men endeavoured to demonstrate the mutual enmity of Jonson and Shakspeare, tracing their alleged quarrel through many plays of both.

Wolf, Graf von Baudissin (Ben Jonson und seine Schule, Leipzig, 1836, 2 vols.) reached the following conclusion: „Gewiss ist, dass . . . Ben Jonson von 1599 an (wo er Every Man out of his Humour schrieb) eine hartnäckige, mit grosser Bitterkeit und Persönlichkeit geführte Fehde gegen Shakespeare bis an dessen Tod fortsetzte, worüber besonders der Poetaster und der 1616 geschriebene Prolog zu Every Man in his Humour die unwiderleglichsten Beweise liefern.“ p. ix. This has been unnecessarily answered in an Essay on the Life and Dramatic Writings of Ben Jonson, in Alex. Schmidt's Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Berlin, 1889, pp. 84—133.

Dr. Robert Cartwright's Shakspeare and Jonson²⁾ and E. Hermann's works³⁾ are as crazy as books can well be⁴⁾. They

¹⁾ An Examination of the Charges Maintained by Messrs. Malone, Chalmers, and Others, of Ben Jonson's Enmity &c towards Shakespeare, London, 1808.

²⁾ Shakspeare and Jonson: Dramatic vs. Wit-Combats. Auxiliary Forces: Beaumont and Fletcher, Marston, Dekker, Chapman, and Webster. London, J. Russell Smith, 1864.

³⁾ Shakespeare der Kämpfer, Erlangen, 1879, ii, 339—398; 403—438. Weitere quellenmässige Beiträge zu Shakespeares literarischen Kämpfen, Erlangen, 1881.

⁴⁾ I cite at random a few of Hermann's statements, merely to show to what extremes fancy can go. He dates A Winter's Tale, for example, — early in 1591 (Weitere Beiträge, p. 219), and The Tempest in 1606 (idem, 220). The Return from Parnassus, he says, alludes to the conflict between Jonson and Shakspeare in Volpone (1605) and Tempest (1606); but The Return from Parnassus was written in 1601. He derives the name Sycorax from sigh-corax (Krächzrabe), and although Sycorax is a woman, identifies her with Nash; her son Caliban is, according to him, Jonson (idem, 222). The story of Prospero's dethronement, he says, is a bit of Shakspeare's autobiography, and the female attendants on Miranda are the pamphlets and plays

are now never quoted as authorities, although Penniman (War, 17 ff.) needlessly disproves some of Cartwright's identifications.

Jacob Feis¹⁾ incidentally (pp. 131—168) discusses the quarrel, trying, like his predecessors Baudissin and Hermann, to prove that Crispinus in Jonson's *Poetaster* is a satire on Shakspeare; but, as Fleay has shown (Chr. ii, 73), as will more clearly appear from my discussion of the character of Crispinus, as Jonson himself expressly told Drummond, and as Dekker in *Satiromastix* asseverates, Crispinus, the central figure of the *Poetaster*, is Marston. Since the identification of Crispinus with Shakspeare is the keystone of Feis' treatment of the quarrel, his whole structure crumbles at once. It is useless to refer further to his work.

Henry Wood (*American Journal of Philology*, xvi (1895), pp. 273 ff.) has fruitlessly tried to demonstrate that both Marston and Jonson burlesqued Shakspeare, the former in *Histriomastix*, the latter in *Bartholomew Fair*. For convenience, I defer notice of his results to the body of my article.

Since Baudissin, Cartwright, Hermann, and Feis have pursued wrong paths in their researches, and are not now quoted as authorities, I shall take no further notice of their work.

I shall freely refer to various articles which treat the quarrel briefly or are of importance for special matters.

There are but two detailed discussions of the quarrel. First, an acute account of it is found scattered through the works of F. G. Fleay²⁾. His *Biographical Chronicle* of the

drawn out by *A Winter's Tale* (idem, 219). „Where the bee sucks, there suck I“ is a hit at Jonson, who called the parasite in *Volpone* *Mosca* — a fly (idem, 223). Cartwright's book is as bad; so also is his subsequent article in *Papers on Shakspeare*, London, J. Russell Smith, 1877, pp. 27—35.

¹⁾ Shakspeare and Montaigne; an endeavour to explain the tendency of *Hamlet* from allusions in contemporary works. London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1884.

²⁾ The most important of these are: *On metrical tests for authorship and date*, (1) *New Shakespeare Society's Transactions*, 1874; (2) *Shakespeare Manual*, 1876; (3) *Ingleby's Shakespeare: The Man and the Book*, Part ii, 1881.

Shakspeare and Marston, in *Shakspeariana*, i, 103—106; 136—140 (1886). *Life of Shakespeare*, London, 1886.

English Drama is a truly monumental work, because it forms a storehouse of information about men and the drama from 1559 to 1642 which is nowhere else equalled, and because Fleay possesses an astonishingly acute mind and has read an enormous amount of Elizabethan literature. Nevertheless, a careful student of any definite question in Elizabethan dramatic history will inevitably find himself compelled to start practically anew; for Fleay's book, capitally important as it is, is both confusing and untrustworthy.

Secondly, J. H. Penniman has very recently published a dissertation entitled *The War of the Theatres*, (Boston, 1897). In spite of obvious care in preparation, the author has failed to give an intelligible account of the chronology, causes, and results of the quarrel, and has gone far astray in untangling the personal relations of the men involved in it.

I purpose to determine as accurately as possible the date of the first presentation of each play that may conceivably be concerned with the quarrel, and its authorship whenever that is doubtful; secondly, I purpose to analyze the characters that may be personally satirical, compare them with each other and with the lives and characters of the men that may have been involved in the quarrel, and decide whether they actually were meant for personal hits, and if so, at whom they were aimed; and thirdly, I purpose to discuss the causes and results of the quarrel, and the justifiability of the actions of the combatants.

During the period 1597 to 1603, there were in London five public theatres — the Curtain, the Rose, the Globe (erected 1599), the Fortune (erected 1600), and the Swan¹). There were also two private theatres — Blackfriars (opened in 1597 or 1598) and the Singing School of St. Paul's (opened as a theatre in 1599). Both the private theatres were, during this period, occupied by companies of children.

The companies of actors were as follows: the Chamber-

Chronicle History of the London Stage, London, 1890.

Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 2 vols., London, 1891.

¹) During this period, the Swan was apparently used only for fencing and the like, except on Nov. 2, 1602, when *England's Joy*, a show by William Vennor, was exhibited there.

lain's, the Admiral's, Pembroke's, Derby's, and Worcester's. We also hear of unnamed companies acting at the Curtain in 1601, and at the Swan on Nov. 2, 1602. Worcester's company was first formed in 1602, and was composed of men from the older companies. It is quite possible that Derby's and Pembroke's men were identical, since we hear of the latter only in 1597, 1598, and late in 1600, and of the former only in 1599 and early in 1600. At no time were there more than three officially recognized adult companies. There were also two children's companies — the Children of Her Majesty's Revels, acting at the Blackfriars, and the Children of Paul's, acting at their own singing school. The popularity of these companies seriously affected the income of the adult actors, as we learn from the famous passage in *Hamlet* and from Jonson's *Poetaster*.

The poets writing for the stage during the last five years of Elizabeth were very numerous; for this period was the heyday of the English drama. Among them may be mentioned Shakspeare, Jonson, Chapman, Heywood, Dekker, Marston, Webster, Tourneur, Haughton, Lodge, Drayton, Monday, Chettle, Rowley, Smith, Hathaway, Wilson, Porter, Middleton, and Day.

Professional rivalry among these men and the theatrical companies represented by them must necessarily have grown very strong, and given rise to many petty feuds. A public satiric expression for those enmities was at the time eminently natural. The age was an age of satire. In 1595, the first formal English satire in print — Lodge's *Fig for Momus* — saw the light. By 1600, at least five other authors had written similar poems — Hall, 1597, (two volumes), Marston, 1598 (two series), Guilpin, 1598, Rowlands, 1600, and Donne. Furthermore, collections of satiric epigrams multiplied with enormous rapidity; Jonson, Harington, Guilpin, Rowlands, Donne, Bastard, Weever, and Sir John Davies are doubtless only a few of the writers of this class. Hence nothing could be more natural than the introduction of satiric comedy upon the stage. This reached its full development in the hands of Jonson and Marston, both of whom began to write just before the end of the sixteenth century. Immediately the whole world

of theatre-goers rushed to see the novel plays; immediately the playwrights turned to the task of producing more. To this satiric tendency of the time, extending through all the strata of its literary life, rather than to any subjective change of character, do we owe, perhaps, the bitter, satiric comedies of Shakspeare's mid-career. Given a predominantly satiric comedy, which absorbed the best efforts of most of the prominent literary men of the day, and numerous and fierce rivalries among those men and the companies represented by them, the introduction of personal satire upon the stage was inevitable. The great stage-quarrel, in its deeper causes, was the outgrowth of the time.

It is my business, however, to endeavour to ascertain the events which immediately gave rise to the quarrel, and to trace the course of the strife in all its details and ramifications. I shall treat of the works of Jonson, Marston, Dekker, Shakspeare, Monday, and Daniel in the order named. We have, as I have shown, positive evidence that the first four of these were engaged in the quarrel; Monday probably had a share in it; and Daniel has been connected with it by Fleay and Penniman. Incidentally, I shall discuss many attempts by modern scholars to identify characters in certain plays with contemporary literary men.

BEN JONSON.

Benjamin Jonson was born about 1573 and died in 1637. He studied under Camden at Westminster School, but probably never attended either university¹). He worked for a while at bricklaying, the trade of his step-father, and made one campaign in Flanders. In 1597, as we learn from Henslowe's Diary under dates July 28 and December 3, he was a player and playwright. Then occurred an affray that temporarily drove Jonson from Henslowe's employment. The full story was not known until J. C. Jeaffreson discovered the original indictment of Jonson, which he printed in the *Athenaeum*, March 6, 1886. From this indictment we learn that „on September 22, 1598, Benjamin Jonson, yeoman, made an attack with force and arms upon a certain Gabriel Spencer, being in God's and the Queen's peace, at Shoreditch, in the fields there, and with a rapier feloniously and wilfully beat and struck the said Gabriel, giving him a mortal wound upon the right side.“ Spencer died instantly. Jonson „confessed the indictment, asked for the book, read like a clerk, was marked with the letter T, and was delivered according to the statute.“ Jeaffreson says: „On being thus convicted of felony on his own confession, he forfeited his goods and chattels. On leaving prison with the brand on the brawn of his left thumb, he returned to the world without a shilling.“ While in prison, Jonson became a Papist, and remained so twelve years.

¹) It has been asserted that he was at St. John's College, Cambridge, for a time. I do not believe it; for *II Return from Parnassus*, a play written at that very college in 1601, when Jonson was still only twenty-eight years old, scornfully sets him down as a man without university training.

At about the year 1597 begins the series of Jonson's early plays, all of which I shall discuss at greater or less length. His life subsequent to the publication of the *Poetaster* is too well known to need recital.

A TALE OF A TUB.

Although *A Tale of a Tub* was not acted in its present form until 1633, it was certainly first produced during the reign of Elizabeth¹⁾.

The action of the play takes place on St. Valentine's Day²⁾; Fleay (*Chr.* 1, 370) immediately jumps to the conclusion that the play was presented on February 14. This is not, however, by any means clear, as a comparison with a precisely similar case will show. The action of Chapman's *May Day* takes place, as one would expect from the title, on May 1; and Fleay assumes that the play was first acted on that day. Nevertheless, in the very first speech Chapman clearly tells us that it was presented in January; he says: „When your old father January here in one of his last days thrusts his forehead into the depth of May's fragrant bosom, what may you Aprils perform then!“ (*p.* 275, Chatto and Windus edition). And again on the same page we read: „How now? God's my life, I wondered what made this May morning so cold, and now I see 'tis this

¹⁾ This is proved by the following phrases: „Her Majesty's person“ *i.* 2. „King Edward, our late liege and sovereign lord“ *i.* 3. „Within the Queen's dominions“ *i.* 4. „The Queen (God save her) ha' no more herself“ *ii.* 1. „I'll have no rondels, I, in the Queen's paths“ *ii.* 1. „Which is the Queen's high constable among you?“ *ii.* 1. „I charge you, in the Queen's name, keep the peace.“ *ii.* 1. „Tell me o' no Queen or Keysar.“ *ii.* 1. „You must obey the Queen's high officers.“ *ii.* 1. „I do belong to one of the Queen's captains.“ *ii.* 1. „I am to charge you in Her Majesty's name“ *ii.* 1. „In the Queen's Majesty's name“ *ii.* 1. „The Queen's Council“ *ii.* 1. „The Queen's Captain“ *iv.* 1. „The Queen's high constable“ *v.* 2.

²⁾ „Now, on my faith, old Bishop Valentine,
You have brought us nipping weather. Februre
Doth cut and shear; your day and diocese
Are very cold.“ *i.* 1.

„Your mistress
Is to be made away from you this morning,
Saint Valentine's Day.“ *i.* 1.

January that intrudes into it." In both cases we have an allusion to the age of Lorenzo; but surely the words „January . . . in one of his last days“ also indicate the date.

In ii, 1, the constable is addressed as follows: „You'll clap a dog of wax as soon, old Blurt.“ In this Fleay sees an allusion to Middleton's play „Blurt, Master Constable“, entered on the Stationers' Register June 7, 1602¹⁾. It is almost inconceivable that the first version of this crude play *A Tale of a Tub* should have been written shortly after the *Poetaster*, when Jonson was at his very best. Bullen (*Middleton* vol. i, p. 3) has rightly explained the matter: „Blurt was a contemptuous interjection, and Blurt, master Constable! appears to have been a proverbial expression.“ As Dyce noticed, we find in *English Proverbs*, p. 14 (first series) appended to *Howell's Lexicon Tetraglotton*, 1660, „Blurt, Mr. Constable: spoken in derision.“ If we had no other evidence, we might be sure that the saying was proverbial from the following passage alone: „Constable, and commit me? marry, Blurt, master Constable!“ (*Blurt, master Constable*, iv, 3, 56). We have, then, no evidence that *A Tale of a Tub* was first produced after Middleton's play. Nor do we have in the words „John Clay and clothbreech for my money and daughter“ (i, 2), a necessary allusion to the moral of „Cloth-breeches“, entered on the Stationers' Register May 27, 1600. The words may just as well allude to Greene's *Dispute between Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches*, 1592. We have, then, absolutely no clew to the date of the first presentation of *A Tale of a Tub* except that it must have been between about 1597, when Jonson began to write, and the death of Elizabeth in 1603. From the crudeness of the play, I assume that it was one of Jonson's earliest efforts.

The characters in the play are all clodhoppers. Only two of them — Diogenes Scriben and In-and-In Medlay — can by any possibility be intended as personal satires on literary

¹⁾ Fleay dates *Blurt, Master Constable* 1600; but Bullen, in his edition of *Middleton's Works*, note to this play v, 3, 179, has clearly shown that it must be subsequent to September, 1601.

characters¹⁾. This Diogenes Scriben, „the great writer of Chilcot“, is a countryman, ignorant in the extreme²⁾, but able to tell:

„A Roman story of a petty constable,
That had a daughter that was call'd Virginia,
Like mistress Awdrey, and as young as she;
And how her father bare him in the business,
'Gainst justice Appius, a decemvir in Rome,
And justice of assize“ — (iii, 3),

And

„A thousand of great Pompey, Caesar, Trajan,
All the high constables there.
Dictator and high constable were both
The same“. (iii, 3.)

Hilts suggests to Squire Tub that Diogenes can write the Masque of a Tub, but Diogenes resigns the task to In-and-In Medlay (v, 2).

Now Fleay asserts, on the sole basis of the name Diogenes, that „Diogenes Scriben is S. Rowlands, whose Letting of Humour's Blood in the Head-vein was published 1600, with a new Morisco, danced by seven Satyrs (sic!) upon the bottom of Diogenes' Tub!“ (Chr. i, 370). But the „new Morisco, danced by seven Satyres upon the bottom of Diogenes' Tub“ announced on the title-page means simply the series of seven cynic satires which forms the last part of the book. The use of the name Diogenes for a typical cynic was perfectly familiar to the Elizabethan public. Lodge, for example, wrote a prose satire called „Diogenes in his Singularity, a Nettle for nice Noses“, 1591; and Rowlands used the name again in his satire „Diogenes' Lanthorn“, 1607.

The name Diogenes was almost necessarily employed by Jonson in his Tale of a Tub, because Diogenes' Tub is one of the most famous that ever existed. In the play itself, when Diogenes Scriben tells of his ancestor Diogenes of the Tub, Medlay says: „Thence came A Tale of a Tub, old Diogenes'

¹⁾ The character of Miles Metaphor is clearly, as one might guess from the name, a hit at Euphuism. It is manifestly not personal.

²⁾ He has copied Finsbury book six or seven times without finding Zin Valentine (St. Valentine) in it. He is surprised and disgusted at finding that there is „another reading“ for the name — „Son Valentine.“

Tub.“ (iv, 2). There is no reason to believe that Rowlands or any other man was glanced at in the character of Diogenes Scriben.

I shall discuss the character of In-and-In Medlay when I treat of Monday.

THE CASE IS ALTERED.

The Case is Altered, as Fleay (Chr. i, 357) has clearly shown, must in its present form be later than September, 1598; for it alludes (i, 1) to Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, entered on the Stationers' Register on September 7, 1598. In its present form, too, it contains an allusion to *Every Man in his Humour*. The play must have existed in some form by December, 1598, for it is mentioned in Nash's *Lenten Stuffe*, entered January 11, 1598/9.

I am inclined to believe that i, 1, in which scene Antonio Balladino appears for the only time, and in which occur the allusions to *Palladis Tamia* and *Every Man in his Humour*, is a later addition made to a play already in existence for some months. We know that in the summer of 1598 Jonson was writing with Chettle and Porter a play called *Hot Anger soon Cold*, and, as I shall soon show, we have some reasons for placing *Every Man in his Humour* late in that year; Jonson, being a proverbially slow writer, must have been kept busy by these plays in the later months of 1598; hence it is likely that he wrote the original version of *The Case is Altered* in 1597 or early in 1598, but gave it its present form very late in 1598 (that is, in our reckoning, about January to March, 1599), after the presentation of *Every Man in his Humour*. The first scene of the play has absolutely no connection with the rest¹⁾, being introduced as a hit at *Antony Monday*, and ✕ apparently added as a kind of reply to *Palladis Tamia*. The date of the play, however, is very doubtful.

The play was acted by the Chapel Children.

¹⁾ The rest, as Emil Köppel (*Quellenstudien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, John Marston's, und Beaumont's und Fletcher's*, Erlangen, 1895) has pointed out, is wholly taken from Plautus, the major plot from the *Captivi*, the minor from the *Aulularia*.

The Case is Altered contains no allusion to Marston or Dekker, For a discussion of the character of Antonio Balladino, see under Monday.

EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR.

Every Man in his Humour, Jonson says in his folio of 1616, was first produced in 1598, by the Chamberlain's men. This first version, however, had Italian characters and differed in many details from the play as printed in the folio. Brinsley Nicholson (*Antiquary* vi, 15—19) has conclusively shown that the first performance was really in 1598, and not, as Gifford thought, in 1597 or even earlier. The allusion to the „Burgullian fencer,“ although not noticed by Nicholson or any other previous student, also fixes the date as not earlier than 1598.

I am strongly inclined to date the play late in the year. The allusion to the Burgullian (or Burgonian) is probably subsequent to his execution on July 10, 1598. Further, Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (entered S. R. September 7, 1598) mentions Jonson only as a writer of tragedies; if *Every Man in his Humour*, an epoch-making play that aroused the greatest interest at the time, had then been in existence, Meres would almost surely have alluded to it. Again, *Every Man out of his Humour* must, as I shall prove, surely be dated February or March, 1599/1600; it was a regular charge against Jonson that he brought forth scarcely a play a year, to which charge he himself replied: „Tis true; I would they could not say that I did that.“ (*Apol. Dial. to Poetaster*, p. 381). We should, then, naturally suppose that *Every Man in his Humour*, Jonson's earliest acknowledged play¹⁾, appeared just about a year before *Every Man out of his Humour*. In the first scene of *The Case is Altered*, however, there is an allusion to *Every Man in his Humour*; since that scene must have been written not long after the appearance of *Palladis Tamia*, we cannot place *Every Man in his Humour* later than about December, 1598. Any attempt to fix the date

¹⁾ Except *A Tale of a Tub*, which was completely remodeled before being acknowledged in 1633.

exactly can yield only doubtful results. This early form of the play was published in quarto form in 1601.

Nicholson has also shown (*Antiquary* vi, 106—110) that the revision was made about 1605. If we neglect all his minor arguments, his case is proved by two facts — the first, that *Strigonium*¹⁾ or Gran, which Bobadil says was taken „some ten years“ since, was actually recaptured from the Turks in 1595; and the second, that the words „I have such a present for thee! — our Turkey company never sent the like to the Grand Signior“ (i, 1) must refer to the fact that „when the Levant or Turkey company was re-constituted and re-chartered in 1603, James gave them £. 5000 to be expended in a present to the Porte.“ (*Antiquary* vi, 108).

Fleay objects to Nicholson's conclusions because „the queen“, and „her majesty“, iv, 9; v, 1; iv, 5, would have been altered in so careful a recasting had it been made in the time of James.“ „I think“, he says, „we may take Bobadil's assertion that to-morrow is St. Mark's Day, April 25, as accurate; and as it appears from iii, 2, that this was spoken on a Friday, this fixes the date of the revised play to 1601 April.“ (*Chr.* i, 358). But, Nicholson replies, (*Ben Jonson's Plays, Mermaid Series*, i, p. 2), „the same data (as to St. Mark's Day's falling on Saturday) are found also in the quarto version, and do not allow of its being performed first in 1598, as it undoubtedly was.“

Fleay's objection that the references to the Queen would have been eliminated in a revision made in the reign of James is easily disposed of; for in iii, 2, p. 61, we read: „Further, take it in the nature, in the true kind, so, it makes an antidote, that, had you taken the most deadly poisonous plant in all Italy, it should expel it, and clarify you, with as much ease, as I speak.“ This is clearly a remnant of the original play, with the scene laid in Italy; yet it was not altered in changing the scene to England. The mention of St. Mark's Day was also an attempt at a bit of Italian local colour. In like manner, the references to Queen Elizabeth were left, in the ordinary fashion of the time, through sheer carelessness. Nicholson's

¹⁾ In this place the quarto has *Ghibelletto*.

elaborate attempts to explain them (*Antiquary* vi, 106—110) are wholly needless.

There is no allusion to Marston or to Dekker in the play. For a discussion of some alleged personal hits, see under Shakespeare, Monday, and Daniel.

LOST PLAYS.

Meanwhile, Jonson had been doing hack-work for Henslowe, the manager of the Admiral's men. With Chettle and Porter he wrote a non-extant play called *Hot Anger soon Cold*, and was paid on August 18, 1598 (*Henslowe's Diary*).

With Dekker he wrote a play called *Page of Plymouth*, a tragedy founded on the story of a murder committed at Plymouth in 1591¹⁾. The two authors were paid on August 10 and September 2, 1599, sums aggregating £. 8 (*Henslowe* 155, 156). The play is lost.

On September 3, 15, 16, 27, 1599, Jonson, with Dekker, Chettle, and „other Jentellman“ received payment for a play *Robert the Second, King of Scots', Tragedy*. This play, too, has disappeared.

EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR: CYNTHIA'S REVELS: THE POETASTER.²⁾

The next three plays of Jonson are full of alleged personal satire. The characters are so intimately connected that I shall deal with all three together after having determined the dates of the plays separately.

EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR. The date of Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* is certainly 1599; for the play was entered on the Stationers' Register April 8, 1600, and contains an allusion to „this year of jubilee coming on“ (ii, 1, p. 158), that is, to 1600. Fleay assigns the date to about April, 1599, basing his belief upon „the mention of spring and the allusion to the company's new patent for the Globe in the Epilogue“. (*Chr.* i, 361). The words in question are as follows:

¹⁾ For an account of the event see Shakespeare Society Papers, London, Shakespeare Society, 1845, vol. ii, p. 79.

„And (I, Asper-Jonson) entreat
 The happier spirits in this fair-fill'd Globe
 That with their bounteous hands thay would confirm
 This, as their pleasure's patent; which so signed,
 Our lean and spent endeavours shall renew
 Their beauties with the spring to smile on you.“

We know of no official patent issued to the Chamberlain's men on their occupation of the Globe. Moreover, the Globe, where this play was certainly acted, can hardly have been opened as early as April, 1599; for the Theatre, from which its timbers were taken, was not torn down until December 1598 or January 1599 (Halliwell-Phillipps, *Life of Shakespeare*, London, 1886, i, 334—5). The Fortune, a very similar theatre, was nearly a year in building. Halliwell-Phillipps says, I believe correctly, that the Globe „was completed towards the end of the year (1599), and opened early in 1600 (according to our reckoning).“ (Shakespeare, i, 165). The allusion to the spring seems really to indicate that the play was performed in the early spring or late winter.

In the play itself, we find that the action of i, 1 (p. 137), is supposed to take place before St. Swithin's Day, July 15; but in iii, 2 (p. 188), the harvest is already at hand; and in the same scene, Fungoso, the student at the Inns of Court, writes to Sordido: „I desire you likewise to be advertised, that this Shrove tide, contrary to custom, we use always to have revels.“ The lapse of time from July to harvest is necessary for the story; but there is no apparent motive for the introduction of the allusion to the Shrove-tide revels unless a timely local hit. I think it probable, then, that the play was performed about February — not in 1598/9, however, but in 1599/1600; for not only is it unlikely that the Globe was completed before the latter part of 1599, but *Every Man out of his Humour* contains unmistakable allusions to *Histrionmastix*, acted, as I shall prove beyond a doubt, in August, 1599. The date which I assign is confirmed by three independent pieces of evidence. First, in *Every Man out of his Humour*, we have an account of a duel between Brisk and Luculento, which, as I shall soon show, refers to the same event as the Emulo-Owen duel in *Patient Grissel*; but *Patient Grissel* was first acted about Janu-

ary 26, 1599/1600¹⁾; hence it is probable that Jonson's play should be dated at about the same time. Secondly, *Every Man out of his Humour* was published (entered S. R. April 8, 1600) with the following explanation: „It was not near his thought, that hath published this, either to traduce the author, or to make vulgar and cheap any the peculiar and sufficient deserts of the actors; but rather —“ whereas many censures fluttered about it — to give all leave, and leisure, to judge with distinction.“ The play, then, was on the stage on April 8, 1600, and was at that date very recent. Finally, the words „Would I had one of Kempe's shoes to throw after you!“ (iv, 4, p. 225) must allude to Kempe's famous jig from London to Norwich, which was danced February 11 to March 11, 1599/1600. Surely, Fleay's explanation that the words simply allude to the withdrawal of Kempe from the company cannot be correct; for the company would not needlessly call attention to their loss of the most distinguished comedian of the day. Perhaps the expression „All her jests are of the stamp March was, fifteen years ago“ (iii, 3, p. 198) may bear the interpretation that this play was performed in March. At all events, we may safely date *Every Man out of his Humour* February 15 to March 24, 1599/1600²⁾.

It was acted, as we know from the title-page, by the Chamberlain's men at the Globe.

CYNTHIA'S REVELS. *Cynthia's Revels*, as Jonson himself tells us in the folio of 1616, was first acted in 1600 at the Blackfriars by the Children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel. It was entered on the Stationers' Register May 23, 1601, and printed in the same year. Although no one has tried to fix a more exact date for the original production of the play, such an attempt is not hopeless.

¹⁾ Henslowe's last payment for the play was December 29, 1599, and a gown for Grissel was purchased on January 26 (Diary, pp. 162—3).

²⁾ The objection that since Jonson had commenced to write for Henslowe in August, 1599, *Every Man out of his Humour*, a Chamberlain's play, must be dated earlier than that, is of no validity. Jonson frequently worked for two companies in rapid alternation; e. g., *Cynthia's Revels* and the *Poetaster* were acted by children in 1600 and 1601; but in September, 1599, September, 1601, and June, 1602, Jonson was working for Henslowe.

Fleay says that the words „The huntress and queen of these groves, Diana, in regard of some black and envious slanders breathed against her for her divine justice on Actaeon“ (i, 1, p. 176) refer to „Nash’s punishment for his Isle of Dogs“ (Chr. i, 363), which punishment took place before the publication of Meres’ *Palladis Tamia* in 1598, because that book alludes to it. But surely Jonson would not dare so to degrade Elizabeth as to make her personally responsible for Nash’s punishment, and to intimate that many maligned her for it; in 1600, too, any excitement over that punishment must long since have subsided. The reference is to no less an event than the disgrace of Essex¹⁾. The consistently solemn tone adopted in speaking of Actaeon, and Cynthia’s elaborate defense of her action²⁾ can be explained only as referring to one of the greatest

¹⁾ Heinrich Hoffschulte (Über Ben Jonson’s ältere Lustspiele, Münster, 1894) has come to the same conclusion.

²⁾ Cynthia says:

„For you are they, that not, as some have done,
Do censure us, as too severe and sour,
But as, more rightly, gracious to the good;
Although we not deny, unto the proud,
Or the profane, perhaps indeed austere:
For so Actaeon, by presuming far,
Did, to our grief, incur a fatal doom;
And so, swoln Niobe, comparing more
Than he presumed, was trophaeed into stone.
But are we therefore judged too extreme?
. Seems it no crime
To brave a deity? Let mortals learn
To make religion of offending heaven,
And not at all to censure powers divine.
To men this argument should stand for firm,
A goddess did it, therefore it was good:
We are not cruel, nor delight in blood.
. Let it suffice
That we take notice, and can take revenge
Of these calumnious and lewd blasphemies.
For we are no less Cynthia than we were,
Nor is our power, but as ourself, the same:
, , , , , Though we have now put on no tire of shine,
, , , , , But mortal eyes undazzled may endure.

political events of Elizabeth's last years. Although Essex was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper on October 2, 1599, immediately after his return from Ireland, his confinement was merely nominal. He was not suspended from his offices until June 5, 1600, and was not actually in much danger until February 8, 1600/1, when he came to London. He was executed February 25, 1600/1. Jonson could hardly have spoken of „black and envious slanders hourly breathed against her, for her divine justice on Actaeon“ (whose punishment was a horrible death), and surely would not have introduced Cynthia's plea for herself, unless Elizabeth had already taken severe measures against Essex. The play, then, should surely be dated after June 5, 1600, and in all probability as late as February or March, 1600/1. This date agrees with the acknowledged fact that Jonson brought out but one (acknowledged) play a year; for *Every Man in his Humour* dates from 1598, probably very late in the year, and *Every Man out of his Humour* from February or March, 1599/1600; then *Cynthia's Revels* ought to fall about February or March, 1600/1, just where I would place it.

But, Fleay says, it is evident from the closing scenes of the play that it was performed at Court; and, since during the years 1594 to 1603 the Chapel Children played before the Queen only on January 6 and February 22, 1600/1, and since the play of February 22 was *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality*¹⁾, *Cynthia's Revels* must have been presented on January 6, 1600/1. On the contrary, I do not believe that *Cynthia's Revels* was ever presented before the Queen. If it had been so presented, it would have had an epilogue for the Court; and Jonson, with his almost sycophantic reverence for

Years are beneath the spheres, and time makes weak
Things under heaven, not powers which govern heaven.“

(v, 3, 299—300.)

In the last two lines we have a clear allusion to the Queen's increasing age and weakening grasp on the sceptre. Doubtless the doom of „Niobe“ refers to the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587.

¹⁾ Fleay is certainly right on this point; for his evidence see Chr. ii, 323.

royalty, was surely not the man to omit it from his carefully edited folio of 1616; but no such epilogue exists. Besides, the entertainment given by the Chapel Children on January 6, 1600/1, is called in the Revels accounts a „show“, whereas such a play as *Cynthia's Revels* would have been designated as an interlude or a comedy. *Cynthia's Revels* is, it is true, a kind of apology for Elizabeth, and Jonson doubtless hoped that it would bring him the royal favour; but there is not the least indication that it did so.

THE POETASTER. The *Poetaster*, as we know from the folio title-page, was „first acted in the year 1601, by the Children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel“. It was entered on the Stationers' Register December 21, 1601, and printed in 1602.

In the play itself, *Histrio* says: „O, it will get us a huge deal of money, captain, and we have need on't; for this winter has made us all poorer than so many starved snakes; nobody comes at us; not a gentleman, nor a — —“ (iii, 1, p. 315). As we know from *Hamlet*, the men-players were hard pressed by the child-actors in 1601. „This winter“ must be that of 1600/1. Jonson tells us in the Prologue that he had spent fifteen weeks upon the play. Since we have no trace of any other work done by him between the presentation of *Cynthia's Revels* and the first additions to the *Spanish Tragedy* in September, 1601, we may assume that he commenced upon the *Poetaster* soon after he completed *Cynthia's Revels*, that is, soon after February or March, 1600/1. The fifteen weeks, then, would make the date of the play about June, 1601. This date accords with all the known facts.

Every Man in his Humour, *Every Man out of his Humour*, and *Cynthia's Revels* have no known sources. The consideration of the characters in the *Poetaster*, however, is complicated by the fact that a very considerable part of the play is composed of imitations of Horace, Lucian, and Homer. The administration of the emetic to Crispinus is adapted from Lucian's *Lexiphanes*. The greater part of Act iii, scene 1, from the beginning to the arrest of Crispinus on page 305, is merely an amplification of Horace's ninth satire of Book i. Hermogenes' conduct and words in ii, 1, pp. 292—3, are taken from Horace,

Sat. i, 3, 1—8. These three imitations have been noticed by others and summed up by Köppel in *Quellen-studien*, Erlangen, 1895. Unnoted imitations are the following: Tucca's description of Horace in iv, 1, p. 328, is imitated from Horace, Sat. i, 4, 33—38. Horace's reply to Demetrius in v, 1, p. 364, is from Horace, Sat. i, 4, 78—85.

In addition to this, the names of the characters are nearly all either historical or derived from Horace. I subjoin the list of *dramatis personae*, with the sources of the names:

Augustus Caesar, Maecenas, Marcus Ovidius, Cornelius Gallus, Sextus Propertius, Fuscus Aristius, Publius Ovidius, Virgil, Horace, Julia, Cytheris, and Plautia, are all historical.

Trebatius: Horace Sat. ii, 1, 4—5.

Asinius Lupus: the name Lupus occurs in Horace Sat. ii, 1, 65 ff., but only as a person assailed by Lucilius. The name Asinius Lupus is a pun on Asininus Lupus — Asinine Wolf.

Pantilius Tucca: „cimex Pantilius“ Horace Sat. i, 10, 78. The character „Captain Tucca“ occurs in Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, 1598¹⁾.

Luscus: occurs as a ridiculous magistrate in Horace Sat. i, 5, 34—36.

Rufus, Laberius, Crispinus: Rufus Nasidienus is the name of the host in Horace Sat. ii, 8. The „Rufus“ is apparently used in the play, however, on account of Crispinus' red hair and beard. Laberius, a writer of mimes, is mentioned in Horace Sat. i, 10, 5—6. Crispinus, a wretched author, is mentioned by Horace with the epithet „lippus“ in Sat. i, 1, 120, and „ineptus“ in Sat. i, 3, 139. The name also occurs in Sat. i, 4, 13—16, and ii, 7, 45.

¹⁾ „A third, that falls more roundly to his work,
Meaning to move her were she Jew or Turk,
Writes perfect Cat and fiddle wantonly,
Tickling her thoughts with masking bawdery,
Which read to Captain Tucca he doth swear,
And scratch and swear, and scratch to hear
His own discourse discours'd; and ,by the Lord,
It's passing good; oh, good!' at every word:
When his cocksparrow thoughts to itch begin,
He, with a shrug, swears 't a most sweet sin.“

Hermogenes Tigellius: the name of a celebrated musician at Rome, a malinger of Horace. He is mentioned and rather carefully described in Sat. i, 2, 1—4; i, 3, 1—8; i, 4, 72; i, 10, 78—80.

Demetrius Fannius: Demetrius was a malinger of Horace, mentioned in Sat. i, 10, 78—80; i, 10, 90—91. Fannius, another sneerer at Horace, is mentioned in Sat. i, 4, 21—22, and i, 10, 78—80.

Albius: „stupet Albius aere“ Sat. i, 4, 28.

Histrion: simply „a player“.

Chloe: the name is several times employed by Horace (Car. i, 23, 1; iii, 7, 10; iii, 9, 6, 9, 19; iii, 26, 12); but it is a commonplace.

Ovid's masquerade representing a feast of the gods is an imitation of the feast of the gods related by Homer (Iliad i). Here we find all essential particulars, including Jove's threat to Juno, and Vulcan's mediation and serving of wine. I believe that this, like the origin of the names, has not been noted.

I now proceed to a discussion of the characters in the three plays *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and the *Poetaster*.

It must be evident to all readers that many of the characters in *Every Man out of his Humour* occur again in *Cynthia's Revels* and the *Poetaster*. Fleay has noticed this fact (Chr. i, 363). I tabulate them as follows:

E. M. out of H.	Cyn. Rev.	Poet.
Asper	Crites	Horace
Puntarvolo	Amorphus	
Carlo Buffone	Anaides	Demetrius
Fastidius Brisk	Hedon	Crispinus
Deliro	Citizen	Albius
Fallace	Citizen's Wife	Chloe
Saviolina	Philautia	
Fungoso	Asotus	

In *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and the *Poetaster*, Jonson has left us a three-fold presentation of himself under the names of Asper, Crites (called Criticus in

the quarto edition of Cynthia's Revels and in Dekker's *Satiromastix*), and Horace. There is no question that all three were meant for him, because Dekker expressly says in *Satiromastix* (p. 200) „You (Jonson) must be called Asper and Criticus and Horace“; and Jonson tacitly accepts the identification.

Asper is, Jonson tells us, „of an ingenious and free spirit, eager, and constant in reproof, without fear controlling the world's abuses. One, whom no servile hope of gain, or frosty apprehension of danger, can make to be a parasite, either to time, place, or opinion.“ (E. M. out of H., *Chars. of Persons*, p. 113). In the play itself, he is repeatedly identified with the author; for example, he says:

„Let me be censured by th' austerest brow,
Where I want art or judgment; tax me freely“ etc.

(Induction, p. 119).

Crites (Criticus in the quarto) is „a creature of most perfect and divine temper; one in whom the humours and elements are peacefully met, without emulation of precedency; he is neither too fantastically melancholy, too slowly phlegmatic, too lightly sanguine, or too rashly choleric; but in all so composed and ordered, as it is clear nature went about some full work, she did more than make a man when she made him. His discourse is like his behaviour, uncommon, but not displeasing; he is prodigal of neither. He strives rather to be that which men call judicious, than to be thought so; and is so truly learned that he affects not to show it. He will think and speak his thoughts both freely; but as distant from depraving another man's merit, as proclaiming his own. For his valour, 'tis such that he dares as little to offer an injury as receive one. In sum, he hath a most ingenuous and sweet spirit, a sharp and seasoned wit, a straight judgment, and a strong mind. Fortune could never break him, nor make him less. He counts it his pleasure to despise pleasures, and is more delighted with good deeds than goods. It is a competency to him that he can be virtuous. He doth neither covet nor fear; he hath too much reason to do either; and that commends all things to him.“ (Cyn. Rev. ii, 1, pp. 201—2.)

Horace is a mere shadow. In addition to the familiar characterization of Horace in the Satire „Ibam forte Via Sacra“ (Bk. i, Sat. 9) we can get very little with regard to Horace-Jonson from the Poetaster. He, though poor, denies all envy (v, 1, p. 349). He is reluctant to accuse Crispinus and Demetrius (v, 1, p. 359). He despises informers (iv, 5, p. 342). He is said to be „valiant“ (iv, 4, p. 341). His enemies accuse him of self-love, arrogance, impudence, railing, filching by translation (v, 1, p. 361). He is called by Demetrius „a mere sponge; nothing but Humours and observation.“ (iv, 1, p. 328). Finally, Tucca, quoting from Horace Sat. i, 4, 33—38, says: „He will pen all he knows. A sharp, thorny-toothed, satirical rascal, fly him; he carries hay in his horn; he will sooner lose his best friend than his least jest.“ (iv, 1, p. 328).

All these portraits, ridiculously flattering as they are, were undoubtedly meant for Jonson.

Fleay (Chr. i, 359), Nicholson (Jonson's Plays, Mermaid, p. 113), and Penniman (War 57) are, however, wrong in assuming Macilente to be also intended for the author. The character is well described by Jonson himself in his „Characters of the Persons“ prefixed to Every Man out of his Humour. „A man well-parted, a sufficient scholar, and travelled; who, wanting that place in the world's account which he thinks his merit capable of, falls into such an envious apoplexy, with which his judgment is so dazzled and distasted that he grows violently impatient of any opposite happiness in another.“ Throughout the play the fact is enforced that Macilente's „envy“ is not hatred, but envy in the modern sense. „He (Macilente) envies him (Sordido) not as he is a villain, a wolf i' the commonwealth, but as he is rich and fortunate; for the true condition of envy is, dolor alienae felicitatis, to have our eyes continually fixed upon another man's prosperity, that is, his chief happiness, and to grieve at that.“ (i, 1, p. 141). Jonson is very careful to distinguish the parts of Asper and Macilente, although they were played by one actor, and nowhere is Macilente made the mouthpiece of the author. Macilente corresponds in function to Brainworm in Every Man in his Humour; he is the means adopted to bring all the rest of the

characters out of their humours. He differs from Brainworm just as Puntarvolo, Brisk, and the rest, differ from Kately and Knowell, in being far more strictly the embodiment of a single humour, a nearer approach to caricature, a further divorce from life.

The characters of Carlo Buffone, Anaides, and Demetrius, and those of Brisk, Hedon, and Crispinus, seem at first reading almost as nearly identical as those of Asper, Crites, and Horace; yet Dekker, though applying the characters of Anaides and Demetrius to himself and those of Hedon and Crispinus to Marston¹⁾, evidently took no offence at the portrayal of Carlo and Brisk. In *Satiromastix Cynthia's Revels* is again and again attacked; but *Every Man out of his Humour* is never mentioned with bitterness.

Penniman (War 76) tries to show that Dekker was not satirized in *Cynthia's Revels*. „The object of the play“, he says, „was to satirize the same four men that were attacked in *Every Man out of his Humour*. They are probably the four to whom Dekker refers in the following lines in *Satiromastix*:

„I wonder then, that of five hundred, foure
Should all point with their fingers in one instant
At one and the same man‘. (p. 198).

That Dekker was not himself one of the four is indicated by the fact that it is Demetrius (Dekker) who speaks the lines.“ The meaning of the passage is so plainly that „of any five hundred men, four hundred apply Jonson's satire to the same person“, that Penniman's misinterpretation is to me quite incomprehensible.

¹⁾ In *Satiromastix* he represented himself and Marston under the names Demetrius and Crispinus. To them he applies the following lines, saying that „*Criticus* (Jonson) *Revels* (an allusion to *Cynthia's Revels*) in these lines“:

„The one (Crispinus) a light voluptuous reveller,
The other (Demetrius) a strange arrogating puff,

Both impudent and arrogant enough.“ (*Satiromastix*, p. 195.)

The lines are quoted by Dekker from *Cynthia's Revels* iii, 2, p. 213, where they are applied to Hedon and Anaides. *Cynthia's Revels* has ignorant instead of arrogant; the corruption is doubtless due to the use of arrogating in the previous line.

With regard to Carlo Buffone, Fleay says (Chr. i, 97): „I thought that, if anything was settled in criticism, it was the identity of Crispinus and Carlo Buffone with Marston;“ in Chr. i, 360, however, he says: „Carlo Buffone, the Grand Scourge or Second Untruss of the Time, is Dekker.“ Nicholson (*Mermaid Jonson* i, 113) thinks that he is „some then well-known jester, drawn from life.“ Bullen, in the life of Marston in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, identifies Carlo with Dekker. C. H. Herford, in the life of Jonson in the same work, thinks he is Marston. Symonds (*Ben Jonson*, p. 37) is inclined to believe that Carlo is Marston. Penniman identifies him with Marston (War 45—50).

On the strength of Dekker's own identification, all recent critics except Penniman have identified Anaides with Demetrius, and hence with Dekker. Penniman says he is meant for Marston (War 77—81). Of course no one now doubts that Demetrius is really Dekker.

Let us see what the characters of the trio really are. Jonson describes Carlo Buffone thus: „A public, scurrilous, and profane jester, that, more swift than Circe, with absurd similes, will transform any person into deformity. A good feast-hound or banquet-beagle, that will scent you out a supper some three miles off, and swear to his patrons, ‚Damn him, he came in oars‘, when he was but wafted over in a sculler. A slave that hath an extraordinary gift in pleasing his palate, and will swill up more sack at a sitting than would make all the guard a posset. His religion is railing, and his discourse ribaldry. They stand highest in his respect, whom he studies most to reproach.“ (*Chars. of Persons*, pp. 113—4; *Cordatus*, in the *Induction*, p. 127, gives us the same portrait in different words). In the play itself, he is three times called „jester“ (i, 1, p. 135; i, 1, p. 142; ii, 1, p. 157), as we should expect from his name Buffone. We learn that he was represented with a shiny face (iii, 1, p. 179; v, 4, p. 240); that he „comes not at court“ (iv, 4, p. 223); and that he is „an open-throated, black-mouthed cur, That bites at all, but eats on those that feed him“ (i, 1, p. 136).

The name of Anaides means Impudence. Jonson has himself given us a very elaborate sketch of his character. „He

has two essential parts of the courtier, pride and ignorance; marry, the rest comes somewhat after the ordinary gallant. 'Tis Impudence itself, Anaides; one that speaks all that comes in his cheeks, and will blush no more than a sackbut. He lightly occupies the jester's room at the table, and keeps laughter, Gelaia, a wench in page's attire, following him, in place of a squire, whom he now and then tickles with some strange ridiculous stuff, uttered as his land came to him, by chance. He will censure or discourse of anything, but as absurdly as you would wish. His fashion is not to take knowledge of him that is beneath him in clothes. He never drinks below the salt. He does naturally admire his wit that wears gold lace or tissue; stabs any man that speaks more contemptibly of the scholar than he. He is a great proficient in all the illiberal sciences, as cheating, drinking, swaggering, whoring, and such like; never kneels but to pledge healths, nor prays but for a pipe of pudding-tobacco. He will blaspheme in his shirt. The oaths which he vomits at one supper would maintain a town of garrison in good swearing a twelvemonth. One other genuine quality he has which crowns all these, and that is this; to a friend in want, he will not depart with the weight of a soldered groat, lest the world might censure him prodigal, or report him a gull; marry, to his cockatrice, or punquetto, half a dozen taffeta gowns or satin kirtles in a pair or two of months, why, they are nothing." (Cyn. Rev. ii, 1, pp. 196—7). He is a „strange arrogating puff“, „impudent and ignorant enough“ (iii, 2, p. 214). He speaks „in a key like the opening of some justice's gate, or a post-boy's horn, as if his voice feared an arrest for some ill words it should give, and were loath to come forth.“ (iv, 1, p. 225). He is intimate with Hedon (iii, 2, p. 213, and passim). He quarrels with Hedon and Amorphus because, Hedon says, „he lacks crowns, and thinks we'll lend him some to be friends.“ (iv, 1, p. 243). This seems inconsistent with the last sentence of my quotation from ii, 1, p. 197. He hates Crites with impotent malice and envy. „Death,“ he says, „what talk you of his learning? he understands no more than a school-boy; I have put him down myself, a thousand times, by this air, and yet I never talked with

him but twice in my life; you never saw his like. I could never get him to argue with me but once; and then, because I could not construe an author I quoted at first sight, he went away and laughed at me." (iv, 1, pp. 248—9). In speaking of Crites to Hedon, he says: „'Slud, I'll give out all he does is dictated from other men, and swear it too, if thou'lt have me, and that I know the time and place where he stole it, though my soul be guilty of no such thing." (iii, 2, pp. 212—3).

Demetrius Fannius is described as follows: „His doublet 's a little decayed; he is otherwise a very simple honest fellow, sir, one Demetrius, a dresser of plays about the town here; we have hired him to abuse Horace, and bring him in in a play, with all his gallants, as Tibullus, Maecenas, Cornelius Gallus, and the rest." „But you know nothing by him, do you, to make a play of?" „Faith, not much, captain; but our author will devise that that shall serve in some sort." „Can thy author do it impudently enough?" „O, I warrant you, captain, and spitefully enough, too; he has one of the most overflowing rank wits in Rome. He will slander any man that breathes, if he disgust him." (Poetaster iii, 1, pp. 315—6). He says of Horace: „We'll tickle him, i' faith, for his arrogancy and his impudence in commending his own things; and for his translating; I can trace him, i' faith. O, he is the most open fellow living; I had as lieve as a new suit I were at it." (iv, 1 p. 329). He is Crispinus' Achate (v, 1, p. 358), but is not admitted with Crispinus to the court (iv, 1, p. 330). He is accused by Horace of gnawing his absent friends, of affecting to be thought a jester, of increasing new flames out of old embers, and of revealing secrets (v, 1, p. 364); but the entire passage is translated from Horace Sat. i, 4, 78—85. He has composed the following verses:

„Our Muse is in mind for th' untrussing a poet;
I slip by his name, for most men do know it;
A critic that all the world bescumbers
With satirical humours and lyrical numbers;
And for the most part, himself doth advance
With much self-love, and more arrogance.
And, but that I would not be thought a prater,
I could tell you he were a translator.
I know the authors from whence he has stole,

And could trace him, too, but that I understand 'hem not full
and whole.

The best note I can give you to know him by,

Is, that he keeps gallants' company;

Whom I could wish, in time should him fear,

Lest after they buy repentance too dear." (v, 1, pp. 363—4.)

He is arraigned as „play-dresser and plagiarist“ for falsely taxing Horace of „self-love, arrogancy, impudence, railing, filching by translation, &c.“ (v, 1, p. 361). He maligns Horace because of envy of his companionship with great men, and of the better success of his writings (v, 1, p. 368). After being clothed with a fool's coat and cap, he is made to swear never more to defame Horace, „or any other eminent man“ (v, 1, p. 372).]

¶ We have here, then, three characters — Carlo Buffone, Anaides, and Demetrius Fannius —, in three successive plays — Every Man out of his Humour, Cynthia's Revels, and the Poetaster —, all similar in some respects, of which the last was certainly meant for Dekker, the second was taken by Dekker as meant for himself, and the first was not so applied at all. A tabulation of all the important likenesses of the three characters will show that Anaides is a transition from Carlo Buffone, which was not at all meant for Dekker, to Demetrius, which was altogether so meant.

Carlo.	Anaides.	Demetrius.
A gourmand.	„Of the ordinary“.	
„He bites at all“.	„Speaks all that comes in his cheeks“.	
„His discourse is ribaldry“.	Cheats, drinks, swag- gers, etc.	
„His religion is railing“.	A blasphemer.	
A jester.	A jester.	A jester (in a passage from Horace).
	„Impudence itself“.	„An overflowing rank wit“.
	Will not give to a friend.	Gnaws absent friends (from Horace).
	In the early part of the play, possessed of lands; later, poor.	Poor.

Carlo.	Anaides.	Demetrius.
	Familiar with Hedon.	Crispinus' Achate (Crisp. = Hedon).
	Will accuse Crites of plagiarism.	Accuses Horace of plagiarism, and will bring him into a play. Is envious of Horace.
	Has put down Crites a thousand times.	Does not understand full and whole the authors from whom Horace stole.
	When he could not construe an author whom he quoted at first sight, Crites went away and laughed at him.	

This comparison effectually disposes of Penniman's assertion, that, with the exception of one statement, Demetrius-Dekker „has nothing whatever in common with Anaides“, and that Anaides is „certainly Marston“ (War 79).

Demetrius is Dekker; Dekker himself applied the character to himself in *Satiromastix*, and no one now doubts the correctness of the application.

Anaides, at the portrayal of whom Dekker likewise took serious offense, is meant for Dekker just in so far as the character coincides with the character of Demetrius. The remaining phases of the character are merely a new version of the character of Carlo Buffone.

Now let us turn back to Carlo. Nowhere in *Every Man out of his Humour* do we find the slightest hint that Carlo had even the remotest connection with literature or the stage. The fact that Puntarvolo calls Carlo „Thou Grand Scourge or Second Untruss of the time“ (ii, 1, p. 154) — the fact on which alone rests Penniman's whole argument that Carlo is Marston — does not make in the least against my assertion; for the passage, which is clearly a jocular allusion to Marston's *Scourge of Villany*, means no more than „thou railer, thou satirist, thou second Marston“. In exactly the same way, Marston, in *What You Will* ii, 1, 134, makes Quadratus call Lampatho (whom I shall clearly prove to be meant for Jonson) „you Don Kynsader“,

using as equivalent to „satirist“ the *nom de guerre* over which he himself had issued his satires. Nor does the word „jester“ indicate connection with the stage; Demetrius-Dekker, as we have seen, was called „jester“; yet Dekker certainly was not an actor.

In no single feature does the character of Carlo accord with Jonson's caricature of the „light voluptuous reveller“ Marston, and in scarcely one with Jonson's sketch of Demetrius-Dekker, the „vain arrogating puff“ and poor „dresser of plays about town here“. Further, we have sure proof that Carlo was not meant for either Marston or Dekker in the fact that *Satiromastix*, although constantly mentioning Jonson's caricatures of Marston and Dekker in *Cynthia's Revels* and the *Poetaster*, never hints at any in *Every Man out of his Humour*. And finally, to make assurance doubly sure, in *Satiromastix* we find Carlo Buffone actually mentioned by name as distinct from both Marston and Dekker, there represented as Crispinus and Demetrius. The words are: „You (Horace-Jonson) shall swear not to dip your manners in too much sauce, nor at table to fling epigrams, emblems, or play-speeches about you, like hailstones, to keep you out of the terrible danger of the shot, upon pain to sit at the upper end of the table, a' th' left hand of Carlo Buffon.“ (*Satiro.* p. 263).

Carlo was, then, a professional diner-out, who secured his invitations by his indiscriminate witticisms at the expense of friends and foes alike, a poor gourmand hanging at the skirts of aristocracy, but never able to attain to the circles of the court.

It is probable that Aubrey, who in 1680 identified him with one Charles Chester, was right. „In his youthful time“, he says in speaking of Sir Walter Raleigh, „was one Charles Chester, that after kept company with his acquaintance; he was a bold, impertinent fellow, and they could never be at quiet for him; a perpetual talker, and made a noise like a drum in a room, so, one time at a tavern, Sir W. R. beats him and seals up his mouth, i. e. his upper and nether beard, with hard wax. From him Ben Jonson takes his Carlo Buffono (sic), in *Every Man out of his Humour*.“ (John Aubrey's *Lives of*

Eminent Men, London, 1813, ii, 514). So Puntarvolo seals Carlo's lips in v, 4. The name Charles coincides with Jonson's Carlo. Although it is true, as Gifford remarks, that Chester must have been much older than Jonson, yet we have proof that as late as 1596 he was a familiar character in London streets; for in Harington's *Apology for Ajax*, 1596, the author says:

„I pray you (Thomas Markham), appear on my jury, and give a good verdict of our book called *M. Ajax*; you know the book well enough; I read you asleep in it once or twice as we went from Greenwich to Westminster. Out upon it, have you put it in print? Did not I tell you then, Charles Chester and two or three such scoffing fellows would laugh at you for it?“ (ed. Singer, 1814, p. 50).

Demetrius, then, is acknowledged to be Dekker; I have shown that the character of Demetrius partially repeats that of Anaiides, and that in so far Anaiides too is meant for Dekker, which fact Dekker himself reveals; I have shown that the remaining traits of Anaiides repeat the character of Carlo, and that by no possibility can Carlo be meant for either Marston or Dekker; and I have, on the early and trustworthy authority of Aubrey, identified him with Charles Chester. Before such evidence, Penniman's identifications of Anaiides and Carlo with Marston cannot stand for a moment.

Just as we have the triplet Carlo-Anaiides-Demetrius, we have also the triplet Brisk-Hedon-Crispinus.

No reputable critic except Fleay and Penniman has tried to identify Fastidius Brisk with any real man. In *Shakespeariana* iii, 30, Fleay identified him with Drayton, wholly without evidence. Several years later, in *Chr. i*, 360, he identified him with Daniel. This identification has been accepted by Penniman (*War* 52—55). For discussion, see under Daniel.

All reputable modern critics except Fleay and Penniman unite in identifying Hedon with Marston, because Dekker so identified him in *Satiromastix*. Fleay and Penniman, however (*Chr. i*, 364 and *War* 81—84), identify him with Daniel. This identification of Brisk and Hedon with Daniel is easily proved ridiculous; for, as both Fleay and Penniman are forced to admit (*Chr. i*, 364 and *War* 80), Dekker identifies Anaiides and Hedon

with himself and Marston. It is inconceivable that Dekker should be mistaken on such a point. Under the heading „Daniel“ I shall recur to the discussion.

No reputable scholar doubts that Crispinus is meant for Marston; for Jonson told Drummond so, Dekker understood it so, and modern study has proved it so.

Fastidius Brisk is „a neat, spruce, affecting courtier; one that wears clothes well and in fashion; practiseth by his glass, how to salute; speaks good remnants, notwithstanding the base viol and tobacco; swears tersely, and with variety; cares not what lady's favour he belies, or great man's familiarity (i. e., he falsely claims to have been granted favours by many great ladies, and to be intimate with great men); a good property to perfume the boot of a coach. He will borrow another man's horse to praise (i. e., to estimate the value of), and backs him as his own. Or, for a need, on foot can post himself into credit with his merchant, only with the gingle of his spur, and the jerk of his wand.“ (Chars. of Persons, p. 114). His chief adventure is his duel with Luculento, who is not a character in the play, but only a name.

Hedon is a courtier „during this open time of the revels, and would be longer, but that his means are to leave him shortly after.“ He is „a gallant wholly consecrated to his pleasures“, as his name indicates. He „affects“ Madam Philautia (i. e., Self-love) very particularly indeed. His page describes him thus:

„He doth, besides me, keep a barber and a monkey; he has a rich wrought waistcoat to entertain his visitants in, with a cap almost suitable. His curtains and bedding are thought to be his own; his bathing-tub is not suspected. He loves to have a fencer, a pedant, and a musician seen in his lodging a-mornings.“ He is a „rhymers, and that's thought better than a poet. He is not lightly within to his mercer, no, though he come when he takes physick, which is commonly after his play. He beats a tailor very well, but a stocking-seller admirably: and so consequently any one he owes money to, that dares not resist him. He never makes general invitements, but against the publishing of a new suit; marry, then you shall have more drawn

to his lodging, than come to the launching of some three ships; especially if he be furnished with supplies for the retiring of his old wardrobe from pawn; if not, he does hire a stock of apparel, and some forty or fifty pound in gold, for that forenoon, to show. He is thought a very necessary perfume for the presence, and for that only cause welcome thither; six milliners' shops afford you not the like scent. He courts ladies with how many great horse he hath rid that morning, or how oft he hath done the whole or half the pommado in a seven-night before; and sometimes ventures so far upon the virtue of his pomander, that he dares tell 'em how many shirts he has sweat at tennis that week; but wisely conceals so many dozen of balls he is on the score." (Cyn. Rev. ii, 1, pp. 192—3).

He devises fantastic oaths and compliments, and has riddles and posies that they dream not of (ii, 1, pp. 194—5). He hates and contemns Crites, and will speak all the venom he can of him (iii, 2, pp. 211—2). He is „a light voluptuous reveller, ignorant and impudent enough“ (iii, 2, 213—4). He sings an original song (iv, 1, p. 239).

In describing the character of Crispinus, I shall neglect those passages which are directly translated from Horace; for they add nothing essential to the character, and even contain some points (as the suit mentioned in iii, 1, pp. 301—2) which are inconsistent with the general scheme.

Crispinus is a gentleman born, and is very proud of the fact (Poet. ii, 1, p. 285; iii, 1, 296; iii, 1, 310; iv, 3, 339; v, 1, 358). His arms express a pun upon his name, Cri-spinas; they are: a face crying in chief, and beneath it a bloody toe, between three thorns (spinas) pungent¹). He tries hard to dress well, but his „satin sleeve begins to fret at the rug that is underneath it“; and his „ample velvet bases are not without

¹) Fleay's idea that this blazonry stands also for Marstoen (Marston) is ridiculous; for the cry would not be represented at all, a bloody toe could hardly suggest Mars to an Elizabethan audience, and toen seems never to have been used in Elizabethan times as the plural of toe; even if it were, we have here only one toe.

evident stains of a hot disposition naturally." (iii, 1, 297). In v, 1, 358, we learn that he is „somewhat out of clothes“. He is a good singer, and very proud of the accomplishment (ii, 1, 292; iv, 3, 337; iv, 1, 327); but sometimes his songs are stolen (iv, 1, 328). He is in debt to Minos the apothecary for sweetmeats, and is arrested for it (iii, 1, 300; 305). He is „new turned poet, too, which is more, and a satirist, too, which is more than that; I write just in thy (Horace-Jonson's) vein, I; I am for your Odes, or your Sermons¹⁾, or anything indeed; . . . we are a pretty stoic, too.“ (iii, 1, 296). He says: „Let me alone to observe till I turn myself to nothing but observation“ (ii, 1, 287); that is, he is a poet of humours. He writes verses about Chloe, and comments elaborately upon them (iii, 1, 298).

In his dramatic style, „he pens high, lofty, in a new stalking strain; bigger than half the rhymers in the town again; he was born to fill thy mouth, Minotaurus (Histrio), he was; he will teach thee to tear and rand. . . If he pen for thee once, thou shalt not need to travel with thy pumps full of gravel any more, after a blind jade and a hamper.“ (iii, 1, 310). He is retained by Histrio as an author (iii, 1, 314). He is said to have written the following verses:

„Ramp up, my genius; be not retrograde,
But boldly nominate a spade a spade.
What! shall thy lubrical and glibbery Muse
Live, as she were defunct, like punk in stews?
Alas! that were no modern consequence
To have cothurnal buskins frightened hence.
No, teach thy incubus to poetize;
And throw abroad thy spurious snotteries,
Upon that puftup lump of barmy froth
Or clumsy chilblained judgment; that, with oath,
Magnificates his merit, and bespawls
The conscious time with humourous foam, and brawls
As if his organons of sense would crack
The sinews of my patience. Break his back,
O poets all and some! for now we list
Of strenuous vengeance to clutch the fist.“ (v, 1, 362—3).

¹⁾ i. e., Satires; Horace called his Satires Sermones.

In the end of the play, he is made to vomit a large number of words highly characteristic of Marston¹⁾.

He is willing to help Demetrius abuse Horace (iii, 1, 315). He is arraigned as „poetaster and plagiary“, for the same crimes as Demetrius, namely, „ignorantly, foolishly, and — more like yourselves — maliciously . . . taxing him (Horace) falsely, of self-love, arrogancy, impudence, railing, filching by translation &c.“ (v, 1, 361); and after his punishment is made to swear no more to malign Horace or to pose as Whipper or Untrusser of the age (v, 1, 372).

He seems to have been represented on the stage with red hair and beard. His name Rufus indicates it. He has „a hot disposition naturally“ (iii, 1, 297), which was associated with red hair. He is a stoic „to the proportion of his beard“ (iii, 1, 296) — that is, if his beard was red, not at all. Finally, when he announces his intention of becoming a poet, Chloë asks: „And shall your looks change, and your hair change, and all, like these (other poets)?“ „Why“, Crispinus replies, „a man may be a poet, and yet not change his hair, lady.“ „Well, we shall see your cunning; yet if you can change your hair, I pray do!“ (ii, 1, 290). Since we nowhere else hear anything about Marston's personal appearance, we cannot be sure whether he really had red hair or not. In *Satiromastix*, however, very much is made of Jonson's physical peculiarities, the actor evidently carefully mimicking them; from this fact, I think it probable that Jonson was giving a pretty accurate picture of Marston's person.

When we attempt to pick out the points of resemblance between Brisk, Hedon, and Crispinus, we at once find that they are fewer than in the case of Carlo, Anaides, and Demetrius. The following is a tabulation of all the important likenesses:

¹⁾ Retrograde, reciprocal, incubus, glibbery, lubrical, defunct, magnificate, spurious, snotteries, chilblained, clumsy, barmy froth, puffy, inflate, turgidous, ventositous (ventosity in quarto), oblatrant, obcaecate (not in folio), furibund, fatuate, strenuous, conscious damp (not in quarto), prorumped, clutched, snarling gusts, quaking custard, tropological (not in folio), anagogical (not in folio), loquacity (not in folio), pinosity (not in folio), obstupefact.

Brisk.	Hedon.	Crispinus.
Practiseth by the glass how to salute. Swears well. „Wears clothes well and in fashion.“ A courtier.	Devises fantastic compliments, and oaths. „Wears clothes well and sometimes in fashion.“ A courtier. Sings an original song. Hates and contemns Crites (Jonson), and will speak all the venom he can of him. Familiar with Anaides.	Is pretentions, but threadbare. A gentleman born. A good singer. Will help Demetrius to abuse Horace (Jonson). Familiar with Demetrius, but superior to him.

Here, exactly as in the case of Carlo-Anaides-Demetrius, we have a series of three characters of which the last was certainly meant for Marston, the second applied to him by Dekker in *Satiromastix*, and the first not at all so applied. I proceed, then, exactly as in that case.

Crispinus is surely Marston, as Jonson, Dekker, and commonsense all inform us. Hedon is Marston just in so far as his characteristics accord with those of Crispinus; that is, in so far as he is represented as a poet and an enemy of Horace. The remainder of his character is a repetition of that of Brisk.

Brisk is not so easily disposed of. His chief adventure is his duel with Luculento; Brisk himself tells the story in affected fashion, and Luculento nowhere appears on the scene. (iv, 2, 215—7). The cause of the quarrel is „the same that sundered Agamemnon and great Thetis' son“ (i. e., a woman). Now, in *Patient Grissel*, a play by Houghton, Dekker, and Chettle, completed (as we learn from Henslowe's Diary) December 29, 1599, but not acted until the end of January 1599/1600, we find an account of a precisely similar duel, only couched in somewhat more fantastic language (*Pat. Gris.* iii, 2, pp. 40—2, printed for Shak. Soc.); this quarrel sprang from the rivalry of Emulo and Sir Owen for Gwenthyan's love.

The essential features of the two accounts are the same —

the story of a duel with a woman at the bottom, told in affected language by a dandy who was one of the principals; a series of violent thrusts which ended only in the rending of fine clothes, to the description of which a great deal of time is given; an accidental fall, which results in a supposed wound, and the defeat of the narrator; and, finally, the mention of the wrought shirt of the beaten duelist. It is, to say the least, extremely improbable that two dramatists should have hit upon a fictitious story of this sort independently, or that one should have dared to steal from the other so striking a tale. We must conclude, with Fleay and Penniman (Chr. i, 361, War 70) that both are founded upon some actual event, and that Emulo and Brisk are intended to represent the same person.

Neither Emulo nor Brisk, however, has anything particularly individual about him. Each is representative of the class of dandies. Farcenze, in characterizing Emulo, well describes Brisk also:

„Far. One of those changeable silk gallants, who, in a very scurvy pride, scorn all scholars and read no books but a lookingglass and speak no language but ‚sweet lady‘ and ‚sweet signior‘ and chew between their teeth terrible words, as though they would conjure, as ‚compliment‘ and ‚projects‘ and ‚fastidious‘ and ‚capricious‘ and ‚misprision‘ and ‚the sintherisis of the soul‘ and such-like raise-velvet terms.

Urcenze. What be the accoutrements of these gallants?

Far. Indeed, that's one of their fustian, outlandish phrases, too. Marry, sir, their accoutrements are all the fantastic fashions that can be taken up, either upon trust or at secondhand.

Urc. What their qualities?

Far. None good; these are the best — to make good faces, to take tobacco well, to spit well, to laugh like a waiting gentlewoman, to lie well, to blush for nothing, to look big upon little fellows, to scoff with a grace, though they have a very filthy grace in scoffing; and, for a need, to ride pretty and well.“ (Patient Grissel ii, 1).

This description manifestly does not apply to Drayton, Daniel, or any other literary man; the reading „no books“ alone is conclusive as to that. In the delineation of Brisk, too, we find not the least hint that he was a writer. If this ridiculous quarrel had occurred between authors, the fact would surely have been made evident in the characters of Brisk and Emulo, and the affair would certainly have left

traces in the numerous collections of epigrams of the times. The identity of Brisk and Emulo is probably hopelessly lost¹⁾. It is likely, indeed, that the personally satiric part of the characters extends only to their share in the fantastic duel; for the rest, they are doubtless mere types of affected court-dandies²⁾.

Fleay and Penniman are surely right in saying (Chr. i, 360 and War 51) that Clove and Orange in Every Man out of his Humour are not, as Simpson thought (School of Shakspeare ii, 5) and as Nicholson declares (Ben Jonson, Mermaid, i, 115), intended for Marston and Dekker. Clove and Orange are, Jonson tells us, „mere strangers to the whole scope of our play“ (iii, 1, 173); „an inseparable case of coxcombs, city-born; the Gemini, or twins of foppery; . . . Being well flattered, they'll lend money, and repent when they ha' done. Their glory is to invite players, and make suppers.“ (E. M. out of H., Chars. of Persons, pp. 115—6). Orange is „nothing but salutation, and, O God, sir!‘ and, ‚It pleases you to say so, sir!‘ one that can laugh at a jest — for company — with a most plausible and extemporal grace; and some hour after, in private, ask you what it was.“ (iii, 1, 174). Clove „will sit you a whole afternoon sometimes in a bookseller's shop, reading the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, when he understands not a word of either; if he had the tongues, to his suits (i. e., if he knew as

¹⁾ In Shakespeariana iii, 31, Fleay said, „Emulo is certainly Jonson“. In Chr. i, 97, having evidently forgotten all about this, he speaks of „a foolish assertion put forth by a Demi-Doctor some years since, that Emulo meant Jonson“. For that assertion see North British Review, July 1870, p. 402.

²⁾ The identification of Brisk with Lyly, made in the Quarterly Review for January 1896, and also by Sidney Lee in the life of Lyly in the Dict. Nat. Biog. is valueless. Lyly, it is true, „thought there was no kind of life . . . but the court“, was „a quoter, a fiddler, a phrasemonger, a smoker“; „borrowed largely from foreign writers without direct acknowledgment“, and sent petitions to the Queen which are „an evidence of debt“; but all these things are, according to the Elizabethan play-wrights, characteristic of nearly every young gallant of the time. If Jonson had been satirizing Lyly, he surely would have done it more cleverly. Moreover, Lyly had probably written nothing since 1590, and before 1600 had wholly dropped out of the literary world. And, lastly, we have already seen that the character of Brisk is not a hit at any literary man whatever.

many languages as he has suits), he were an excellent linguist." (iii, 1, 174).

In the *Poetaster*, on the contrary, Jonson pictured Demetrius-Dekker as a poor wretch on the verge of starvation, virulent in the extreme, but by no means a fool. Crispinus-Marston, too, rarely has more than one suit out of pawn, and is characterized by malice and not folly. We know, too, that Marston, at least, was not city-born, and being actually the grandson of an Italian physician, read and spoke Italian easily. At no point does the description of the rich city-born fools¹ Clove and Orange tally with the known characters of Marston and Dekker. Clove, to gull the listeners, talks to Orange in a peculiar dialect of fustian (iii, 1, 177—8); although this fustian contains some words from Marston's works, that is no indication that Clove was meant for Marston or for a talker of Marstonian fustian; for of the thirty-nine words and expressions thus ridiculed, only six can be found in Marston's work¹). Clove and Orange, in a word, are brought in merely to ridicule the affected phrases of the time. They are, in all probability, composite pictures rather than individual portraits.

Fleay identifies Puntarvolo in *Every Man out of his Humour* with Sir John Harington (Chr. i, 360²), because Harington, like Puntarvolo, was fond of a dog. Amorphus in

¹) „*Meteors*“, *Histriomastix* v, 25.

„*Paunch of Esquiline*“, *Hist.* iii, 191.

„*Synderisis*“, *Scourge of Villany*, viii, 211; xi, 236.

„*Mincing capreal*“, *S. of V.* xi, 24.

„*Circumference*“, *S. of V.* vi, 63; x, 78.

„*Intellectual*“, *S. of V. To Detraction* 8; iv, 133; vii, 10, 178; viii, 81, 166, 189; xi, 23.

The words „*zodiac*“, „*ecliptic*“, „*tropic*“, „*mathematical*“, and „*demonstrate*“ occur in *Histriomastix* i; but, as I shall prove, Marston did not write that portion of the play.

²) Harington was born near Bath in 1561, and was the godson of the Queen. He was educated at Cambridge, and studied law, but was early placed at court by Elizabeth. In 1599, he followed the ill-fated Essex, thereby incurring the Queen's displeasure. He died in 1612.

His works include: *Translation of Orlando Furioso*, 1591; *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, *An Apology*, and *Ulysses upon Ajax*, 1596; *Epigrams*, printed posthumously in 1613. His works show no allusion to the stage-quarrel.

Cynthia's Revels is, in Fleay's opinion, a repetition of the character of Puntarvolo, and hence must also mean Harington.

Puntarvolo in the play „loves dogs, and hawks, and his wife, well; he has a good riding-face, and he can sit a great horse.“ He „has dialogues and discourses between his horse, himself, and his dog; will court his own lady, as she were a stranger never encountered before.“ (ii, 1, 147). He goes through a most elaborate ceremony in approaching his own house — „a tedious chapter of courtship after Sir Lancelot and Queen Guenever“ (ii, 1, 148—153). He forms a project to go to the Turk's court at Constantinople with his wife and his dog, first putting out £. 5000 to be returned to him fivefold on the safe return of the party (ii, 1, 158). By his wife's refusal to go, he is compelled to make the party consist of himself, his dog, and his cat (iii, 1, 174). The journey is finally frustrated by Macilente's poisoning the dog (v, 1, 228—9). Puntarvolo's „humours“, then, are really three — his love for animals, his desire to preserve the courtesy of the old romances, and his fondness for „dealing on returns“.

Ulysses Polytropus Amorphus expresses the following opinion of himself: „Knowing myself an essence so sublimated and refined by travel; of so studied and well-exercised a gesture; so alone in fashion; able to render the face of any statesman living; and to speak the mere extraction of language; one that hath now made the sixth return upon venture; and was your first that ever enriched his country with the true laws of the duello; whose optics have drunk the spirit of beauty in some eight score and eighteen princes' courts, where I have resided, and been there fortunate in the amours of three hundred and forty and five ladies, all nobly, if not princely, descended, whose names I have in catalogue —“ (Cyn. Rev. i, 1, 181—2).

The disguised Mercury gives the following description of him: „A traveller, one so made out of the mixture of shreds of forms, that himself is truly deformed. He walks most commonly with a clove or pick-tooth in his mouth, he is the very mint of compliment, all his behaviours are printed, his face is another volume of essays, and his beard is an Aristarchus.

He speaks all cream-skinned, and more affected than a dozen waiting-women. He is his own promoter in every place. The wife of the ordinary gives him his diet to maintain her table in discourse; which, indeed, is a mere tyranny over her other guests, for he will usurp all the talk; ten constables are not so tedious. He is no great shifter; once a year his apparel is ready to revolt. He doth use much to arbitrate quarrels, and fights himself, exceeding well, out at a window. He will lie cheaper than any beggar, and louder than most clocks." (Cyn. Rev. ii, 1, 200).

From the play we learn also that he makes verses without marrying „a word of short quantity to a long note". (iv, 1, 241).

The character of Amorphus, then, repeats that of Puntarvolo only in so far as the latter is represented as a traveller and dealer upon returns.

Of the three aspects of the character of Puntarvolo, the first, that exhibiting him as fond of his wife and of animals, fits Sir John Harington well enough. Although we hear nothing of Harington's horse and Harington's cat, Harington's dog Bungey must have been a well-known character. His portrait is given a prominent place at the foot of one of the pillars in the engraved frontispiece to Harington's *Ariosto*; Harington wrote a long epigram (Against Momus, Bk. iii, Epi. 21) in his praise, from which epigram it appears that because „a witty writer of this time" had made „some mention in a pleasant rhyme of Lepidus and of his famous dog", „Momus" had given out that a hit at Harington was meant¹⁾. Again, in 1608, Harington addressed a letter to Prince Henry (printed in *Nugae Antiquae*) describing the various deeds of the then deceased favourite Bungey. Bungey, it should be observed, was not poisoned, as Puntarvolo's dog was; nor is there any indication in the play that Puntarvolo's dog was of remarkable intelligence. Like Puntarvolo, Harington was very fond of his wife and children. In the four books of Harington's Epigrams, I have counted no less than nineteen

¹⁾ The „witty writer" was Sir John Davies; the allusion is to his forty-eighth epigram, *Ad Musam*, — „And so is Lepidus his (Lepidus's) printed dog" better known than my books.

addressed to his wife, all most affectionate in tone; for a loving allusion to children, see, for example, Bk. ii. Epi. 70. Although, as we have seen, the first phase of Puntarvolo's character fits Harington well enough, I think it very unlikely that we have here a piece of personal satire on him. In II Return from Parnassus, Amoretto, who cannot possibly be meant for Harington, is also represented as in love with his hound, his hawk, his horse, and his lady.

We have no means of knowing whether the second aspect of Puntarvolo's character — that in which he attempts to revive the usages of chivalric Europe — corresponds at all with the character of Harington. Remembering that Harington loved and translated Ariosto, we might perhaps be tempted to believe that some such correspondence existed; but, on the other hand, it is improbable that, had it existed, it should have left not the slightest trace in Harington's own work or in known references to him by others.

With regard to the third phase of Puntarvolo's character, and the whole character of Amorphus, we may be sure that neither had any reference to Harington. Amorphus, as we have seen, is represented as a traveller, first, last, and all the time. The mere mention of his name is enough to show it — Ulysses Polytropus Amorphus. So Puntarvolo, in his third aspect, is a globe-trotter who deals upon returns. But in the *Anatomy of the Metamorphosed Ajax* Harington says, in the character of a friend of Misacmos (the *nom de guerre* under which Harington himself wrote): „He (Misacmos-Harington) and I have been beyond sea, but never out of the Queen's dominions. In England, beyond Wales; in Ireland, on this side England.“ (*Anatomy*, p. 19, ed. S. W. Singer, 1814). These riddles are explained in side-notes as meaning Milford and Waterford in Ireland, the latter being inside the English Pale, and hence in England. This was written in 1596. In the spring of 1599, Harington was sent to Ireland again with Essex, and returned with him in September of the same year. He then retired to his country-seat near Bath in disgrace. Through letters printed in *Nugae Antiquae*, we learn that he was at Bath in May, 1597, and in England late in 1598. There is not the

slightest indication that he was ever outside the Queen's dominions.

I conclude, then, that Amorphus, and Puntarvolo so far as he is a traveller, are surely not meant for Harington; that the Quixotic traits of Puntarvolo probably had nothing to do with Harington; and that the uxorious and pet-loving side of Puntarvolo's nature accords well enough with the character of Harington, but that the correspondence with the character of Amoretto in *II Return from Parnassus* discredits the theory that it was suggested by him.

In speaking of the characters in *Cynthia's Revels* (Chr. i, 363), Fleay says: „Amorphus, the Deformed Traveller, who, enriched his country with the true laws of the duello“, i, 1, must have been the translator of Saviolo's *Practise*, S. R. 1594, Nov. 19. I think Barnaby Rich is the man.“ This, of course, is inconsistent with his declaration that Amorphus is a repetition of Puntarvolo, and that Puntarvolo was meant to represent Harington. It is in no way borne out by facts.

Captain Barnaby Rich (1540? — 1620?) was a self-educated soldier, who, in his later years, devoted most of his time to writing books, of which he professed to have composed thirty-six. These include romances in imitation of Euphues, pamphlets exposing the vices of the time, reminiscences of his own life, works on military tactics, and denunciations of Papists and tobacco. No one but Fleay regards him as the translator of Saviolo's *Practice* in 1594; and Fleay seems to have no reason for his opinion.

Further, even if Rich did translate Saviolo, that is no ground for identifying Amorphus with Rich. For, as I have sufficiently shown, Amorphus is a type-character; and surely no one can doubt that some traveller — some Ulysses Polytropus Amorphus — brought the science of duelling from the Continent into England. Moreover, it is quite inconceivable that, if a satire on Rich had been intended, no allusion to his military service and interest in Ireland should have been made.

For discussion of Penniman's identification of Puntarvolo and Amorphus with Monday, see under Monday.

Cos (the Whetstone), the page of Amorphus the traveller

in Cynthia's Revels, is identified by Fleay with George Whetstone¹⁾, solely on account of his name. (Chr. i, 364). Cos does not in the least differ from his comrades Prosaites (the Beggar) and Morus (the Fool). Fleay missed the point in his name, which point is found in the very common Elizabethan conceit about having a whetstone to sharpen your wits upon²⁾. A lying traveller, like Amorphus, would be especially in need of such an article.

Fleay and Penniman identify Asotus in Cynthia's Revels with Lodge (Chr. i, 363; War 85—89)³⁾. The points on which their case rests are three: First, when the spendthrift „delicate youth“ Asotus (iv, 1), has squandered the gifts of his mistress Argurion (Money), and she faints, Mercury remarks: „I doubt all the physic he has will scarce recover her; she's too far spent.“ This, says Penniman, is an allusion to Lodge's study of medicine. But in 1600 Lodge was forty-two years old — not youthful according to Elizabethan ideas; and the medical allusion is very common in the literature of the time; in Shakspeare alone, for example, we find thirteen parallels⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Chiefly known by his *Rock of Regard*, 1576.

²⁾ I cite a few examples: „And hath sent this natural for our whetstone; for always the dulness of the fool is the whetstone of the wits.“ A. Y. L., i, 2, 57. „I must borrow thy whetstone, to sharpen the edges of my martial compliments.“ *Lingua*, p. 363, Hazlitt's Dodsley's Old Plays. „O intolerable lying villain, that (story) was never begotten without the consent of a whetstone.“ *Summer's Last Will*, Nash's Works, ed. A. B. Grosart, Huth Library, vol. vi, p. 98. „He deserves the whetstone“ is an old proverb applied to a liar. *A Hand-book of Proverbs*, Henry G. Bohn, London, 1860, p. 64.

³⁾ Thomas Lodge was born about 1558. He received a degree at Oxford in 1577, and entered upon the study of law. He soon abandoned it for literature, apparently being disinherited for that reason. Collier's alleged evidence that he was an actor is falsified. He went to war for a short time, and took two long voyages, one about 1588, and the other in 1591. In 1596, tiring of literary work, he went into the country. Soon after, he became a Catholic, and studied medicine, receiving his degree at Avignon in 1600 (Wood). He practised in London, becoming one of the most distinguished physicians of the day. Shortly after 1603, he was compelled to flee the country on account of his faith; by 1610, however, he had returned to London, and, except for occasional trips abroad, he lived there until his death in 1625.

⁴⁾ T. G. ii, 1, 42; M. W. ii, 1, 5; Rich. II, i, 1, 154; ii, 1, 99; 2 Hen. IV, i, 2, 143; ii, 2, 112; iv, 1, 60; T. & C. ii, 3, 223; T. of A. iii, 3, 11; Lear i, 1, 166; Oth. i, 3, 311; Cymb. v, 4, 7; Per. i, 2, 67.

The second point of our critics is that Asotus, „the prodigal son to the deceased Philargyrus, who was to have been Praetor (Lord Mayor) next year“, must be Lodge, because Lodge's father „had been Mayor in 1562, and may have been expecting a second election at his death in 1583.“ (Chr. i, 363). But even if Lodge's father were „expecting a second election at his death“, his death occurred no less than seventeen years before the date of Cynthia's Revels.

Thirdly, we are told that because Phantaste calls Asotus „our gold-finch“ (iv, 1), the identification with Lodge is „certain“, because the words „remind one of Lodge's anagrammatic signature, Golde“ (Chr. i, 365; War 89). Asotus is called „gold-finch“ simply because he furnishes all his flatterers with gold. In Middleton's Blurt, Master Constable, iv, 1, 9—11, Curvetto says in speaking of his purse:

„Or if this gold-finch, that with sweet notes flies,
And wakes the dull eye even of a puritan,
Can work, then, wenches, Curvetto is the man.“

So also, in *Satiromastix*, p. 218, Tucca, after receiving a gold chain from Sir Quintilian Shortnose, calls him „my noble gold-finch“. So Sir Harry Wildair, in Farquhar's comedy *The Constant Couple*, says, speaking of a purse of twenty guineas: „Don't you, don't you love singing birds, madam? . . . Why, then, madam, here is a nest of the prettiest gold-finches that ever chirped in a cage; twenty young ones, I assure you, madam.“ (ii, 2, p. 152, ed. Ewald, 1892). The same play on words occurs again in *The Constant Couple* v, 1, p. 213.

Asotus, the untravelled fool with „beard not yet extant“, who scatters his money broadcast, and who strives in all things to imitate the traveller Amorphus, corresponds in no particular with Lodge. The character is clearly not a personal satire.

Penniman further identifies Fungoso in *Every Man out of his Humour* with Asotus and with Lodge (War 55—6), resting his argument on the fact that Fungoso was in debt for clothes, and was a student of law, while Lodge had studied law, and had probably been sued for payment for a suit of clothes. But surely the fact that Lodge had studied law for a short time twenty-three years before is no reason for identifying him with

the law-student Fungoso: moreover, Penniman is inconsistent; for, according to him, in *Cynthia's Revels* Jonson satirized Lodge for being a student of medicine. As for the debt, what Elizabethan gallant was not, according to the comedians, in debt? Compare Jonson's characterization of Hedon and Brisk. Compare this from *Marmion's Antiquary*: „Does he look like one that should lend money? He is a gentleman, and they seldom credit anybody.“ (ii, 1, p. 223 ed. 1875). Compare these words from *Every Man out of his Humour*: „Debt! why that's the more for your credit, sir; it's an excellent policy to owe much in these days.“ (i, 1, p. 132).

Brisk tells us: „I had three suits in one year, . . . (which) undid three gentlemen in imitation“ (E. M. out of H. ii, 2, p. 168); Fungoso is simply a fourth undone by imitation of Brisk's suits. As Jonson clearly indicates when he speaks of Asotus as „some idle Fungoso“ (Cyn. Rev. iv, 1, p. 234), Fungoso is merely a type-character of a „Sponge“.

Fleay, on the other hand, includes Fungoso in the group composed of Fungoso himself, the law-student who tries in vain to follow the fashion; his father Sordido, the churlish miser; and his uncle Sogliardo, the fool with aspirations toward gentlemanliness. All these characters, of course, occur in *Every Man out of his Humour*. No one but Fleay or one of his school would have thought of making them personal satires and attempting to affix names to them; Fleay, however, thinks that he has made out that Sordido represents a kinsman of the actor Richard Burbadge (Chr. i, 360); if so, Sordido's son and brother must, according to Fleay's reckoning, be also Burbadges.

Sordido (i. e., Churl), in Jonson's phrase, is „a wretched hobnailed chuff, whose recreation is reading of almanacs, and felicity, foul weather. One that never prayed but for a lean dearth, and ever wept in a fat harvest.“ (Chars. of Persons, pp. 114—5). After he has resorted to all sorts of means to keep his corn until the dearth promised by the almanac-makers shall have come, a plenteous harvest drives him to hang himself. He is cut down, however, and with miraculous quickness converted from his former miserly disposition (i, 1; iii, 2).

Sordido's son Fungoso (i. e., the Sponge-like) is, according

to Jonson, a student who „makes it the whole bent of his endeavours, to wring sufficient means from his wretched father, to put him in the courtiers' cut; at which he earnestly aims, but so unluckily that he still lights short a suit (i. e., he is always one suit behind the style).“ (Chars. of Persons, p. 115)¹).

Sordido's brother Insulso Sogliardo (i. e., Senseless Lubbard) is „an essential clown, yet so enamoured of the name of a gentleman that he will have it, though he buys it. He comes up every term to learn to take tobacco and see new motions (i. e., puppet-shows). He is in his kingdom when he can get himself into company where he may be well laughed at.“ (Chars. of Persons, p. 115). His „discourse were nothing, but for the word ‚humour‘“ (ii, 1, 144). He hires Shift to instruct him in the „whiff“ (iii, 1, 186—7; iv, 2, 207), and becomes so enamoured of his teacher's good parts that he devotes all his time to informing people of them (iv, 2, etc.). He purchases a coat of arms (i, 1, 133; iii, 1, 175), and about the description of this coat (iii, 1, 179) our interest in the family centers. I quote the passage in full:

„Puntarvolo. A very fair coat, well charged, and full of armoury.

Sogliardo. Nay, it has as much variety of colours in it, as you have seen a coat have; how like you the crest, sir?

Punt. I understand it not well; what is't?

Sog. Marry, sir, it is your boar without a head, rampant.

Punt. A boor (sic) without a head; that's very rare.

Carlo. Ay, and rampant, too. (To Puntarvolo) Troth, I commend the herald's wit; he has deciphered him well; a swine without a head, without brain, wit, anything indeed, ramping to gentility. — You can blazon the rest, signior, can you not?

Sog. O, ay, I have it in writing here of purpose; it cost me two shillings the tricking.

Car. Let's hear, let's hear.

Punt. (aside). It is the most vile, foolish, absurd, palpable, and ridiculous escutcheon that ever this eye survived.

Sog. Gyrony of eight pieces, azure and gules; between three plates, a chevron, engrailed chequy, or, vert, and ermins; on a chief argent, between two ann'lets sables, a boar's head, proper.

¹) Brisk calls him „a kinsman to Justice Silence“ (v, 2, 230), which Nicholson interprets as „possibly, therefore, a Shallow“ (Ibid.); the point is simply that Fungoso, like Shakspeare's Silence, is a man of the fewest possible words.

Car. How's that? on a chief argent?

Sog. On a chief argent, a boar's head proper, between two annulets sables.

Car. (to Punt.). 'Slud, it's a hog's cheek and puddings (i. e., sausages), in a pewter field, this.

Sog. How like you 'hem, signior?

Punt. Let the word be, Not without mustard; your crest is very rare, sir.

Car. A frying-pan, to the crest, had had no fellow."

Fleay wishes us to believe that „Sordido is a Burbadge — some country relative of Richard Burbadge — a boar without a head rampant for a crest, and a boar's head between two annulets (badges) for the coat, making up Boar-badge.“ (Chr. i, 360)¹).

If Sordido is to be declared a Burbadge, of course Fungoso and Sogliardo must be Burbadges. But, in the first place, we nowhere hear of any Burbadge similar in character to any one of the trio. Secondly, the word „badge“ nowhere occurs, and „annulets“ would not suggest it to any Elizabethan. Thirdly, since Richard Burbadge actually took a chief part in this very play, it is inconceivable that any of his relatives should be satirized in it. And lastly, the character of Sordido cannot possibly be personally satirical; for the story of the farmer's hanging himself on the expectation of plenty is a common-place in Elizabethan literature; it occurs, for example, in the Porter's scene in Macbeth, and in S. Rowlands' Looke to it, for I'll Stabbe Ye, 1604 (p. 26, ed. Hunterian Club). It is at least as old as the first half of the thirteenth century; for I have found it among the Exempla of Jacobus Vitriacensis: „Audiui de quodam qui multum de grano congregavit et per multos annos ut carius venderet expectavit. Deus autem semper bonum tempus dabat, unde miser ille, spe sua frustratus, tandem pre tristitia super granum suum se ipsum suspendit.“ (Exemplum clxiv, The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry, ed. T. F. Crane, London, Folklore Society, 1890)²).

The hits in the description of the coat are just two. Jonson has surely brought out the first with sufficient clearness — the

¹) Although Penniman thinks that Sordido cannot be a Burbadge, he says that „the interpretation of the coat of arms is plausible.“ (War 61).

²) This also effectually disposes of Penniman's identification of Sordido with Philip Henslowe (War 62).

pun on a „boar without a head, rampant“, and a „boor without a head (i. e., without a brain, witless), ramping to gentility“. The second hit is on the manifold colours of the escutcheon, and the ridiculousness of the design „in chief“. It is well explained by Jonson in the context quoted, and also by a passage in Fuller's *Worthies of England* (vol. i, p. 66, ed. P. A. Nuttall, London, 1840): „Two colours are necessary and most highly honourable. Three are very honourable; four commendable; five excusable; more, disgraceful. Yet I have seen a coat of arms (I mean within the escutcheon) so piebald that if both metals and all the colours, seven in all, were lost elsewhere, they might have been found therein. Such coats were frequently given by the heralds, not out of want of wit, but will to bestow better, to the new gentry at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. One said of a coat that it was so well victualled that it might endure a siege.“ Fuller's remarks apply exactly to Sogliardo's coat. This coat also several times violates the rule that colour should not be blazoned on colour, nor metal on metal. Carlo's and Puntarvolo's other jokes are obvious enough. Sogliardo's family had no connection with the Burbadges or with Henslowe.

Of Cordatus and Mitis in *Every Man out of his Humour*, who, Fleay says, „may be Donne and Chapman“ (Chr. i, 360) it is possible to say only that they have no individuality at all, and might be intended for almost anyone, or, more probably, for no one in particular¹⁾. Jonson himself, in the *Characters*

¹⁾ There is no evidence that either Chapman or Donne took the least part in the quarrel. As is well known, they were both intimate friends of Jonson; but a careful study of their works fails to reveal any indications of participation in his strife with the Poetasters.

In the case of Chapman this is the more striking because we possess at least four comedies written by him between 1596 and 1601 — *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, 1596, *A Humorous Day's Mirth*, 1597, *All Fools*, 1599 (afterwards revised), and *May Day*, about 1600. In *May Day*, it is true, Chapman imitated some lines from Marston as follows:

„Fill red-cheekt Bacchus, let . . .
 the plump-lipped god
 Skip light lavoltas in your full-sapt veins!“

(Marston's *Ant's. Rev.* v, 2, 22).

Chapman says:

„Fill red-cheekt Bacchus, let the Bourdeaux grape

of the Persons, has told us all there is to say about them. Cordatus is „the author's friend; a man inly acquainted with the scope and drift of his plot; of a discreet and understanding judgment; and has the place of a Moderator (i. e., defends Jonson's management of the plot, informs the spectators of the changes of scene, and the like).“ Mitis is „a person of no action, and therefore we have reason to afford him no character.“ His brief comments and questions serve merely to call out Cordatus' explanations.

There is not the least evidence that by Virgil and Ovid in the *Poetaster* Jonson intended any living persons. The descriptions of them apply exactly to the real Virgil and Ovid and to no one else; whether, as I believe, they were intended merely to furnish a classic background for the *Poetaster*, or

Skip light lavoltas in their swelling veins!“

(May Day iv, 1, p. 296, Chatto & Windus edition).

This is not, however, ridicule, as Fleay says it is (Chr. i, 57); for the verses were quoted in admiration. They are rather striking, and show the kind of fancy that especially appealed to the Elizabethan imagination. Marston himself practically repeated one of them in *What You Will*, 1601: „Skip light moriscoes in our frolic blood.“ (v, 1, 339). Chapman is in the habit of imitating boldly; see, for example, the following imitations of Marlowe: „None ever loved, but at first sight they loved.“ (*Blind Beggar*, p. 20); and: „But come, sweet love, if thou wilt come with me“, with the next nine lines. (*Blind Beggar*, p. 17).

The characters of Bassiolo and Sarpego in the *Gentleman Usher* (acted shortly after 1601) cannot be considered as personally satirical. Bassiolo is a conventional gentleman-usher like Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*. Sarpego is a type of the pedant who is fond of boasting of his former feats in amateur theatrical performances — a kind of mixture of the Pedant in Sidney's *Lady of the May* and of Polonius in *Hamlet*.

D'Olive, in *Monsieur D'Olive*, about 1604, is also a formal pedant. The following speech is characteristic: „I am amused', or ‚I am in a quandary, gentlemen', (for in good faith I remember not well whether of them was my words) ‚whether I should (as the poet says) eloquar an siliam?'“ (ii, 1, p. 124, Chatto & Windus). The character is not personally satirical.

In *Northward Ho!*, however, written by Dekker and Webster, and performed early in 1605, Chapman is certainly struck at as Bellamont. Fleay (Chr. ii, 270) has presented the evidence. This satire, however, is so late that it can have nothing to do with the quarrel between Jonson and the *Poetasters*.

whether Jonson had in mind certain of his friends, it is utterly impossible for us to be sure. Fleay's guess that Virgil and Ovid were meant for Chapman and Donne, and Symonds' guess that Virgil was meant for Shakspeare, are alike valueless.

J. A. Symonds (Ben Jonson, pp. 35, 41) is clearly wrong in identifying *Histrion* in the *Poetaster* with Henslowe, the dramatic manager. *Histrion* is, as his name indicates, a player; he has been a fiddler (iii, 1, 309). Henslowe was neither. *Histrion* has grown rich and purchased (iii, 1, 309); this fits Alleyn or Shakspeare, and probably other sharers in the two great companies. He has Fortune on his side (iii, 1, 309), i. e., he has the support of the Fortune Theater, where Alleyn and the Admiral's men were then playing. He has no Humours, Revels, and Satires; „They“, he says, „are on the other side of Tyber¹⁾“; we have as much ribaldry in our plays as can be.“ (iii, 1, 311). He is evidently a prominent man in his company, for Tucca so speaks of him (iii, 1, 314), and he has power to give earnest-money to the new poet Crispinus-Marston (iii, 1, 314). His company has hired Demetrius-Dekker to bring in Horace-Jonson in a play. They have had a hard time during the winter (iii, 1, 315). *Histrion* gives Lupus information as to Ovid's intended feast of the gods (iv, 2, 330)²⁾. Finally (if he be identical with Aesop), he is carried away to be whipped.

Histrion is not Henslowe; nor does he belong to some obscure band of travelling players, as Fleay thinks, but to the Chamberlain's company, which had hired Dekker to satirize Jonson, and which played at the Globe Theater in Southwark. In 1601, no other play-house was allowed on the Surrey side; for by an order of June 22, 1600 (quoted by Halliwell-Phillipps,

¹⁾ i. e., at the private theaters of the children's companies, which were situated on the northern side of the Thames; the Globe Theater, where the Chamberlain's company was located, was on the southern side.

²⁾ Fleay is mistaken when he says that this *Histrion* „is not he of iii, 1, but the Aesop of v, 1.“ (Chr. i, 369). For in iii, 1, 314, *Histrion* says: „I have some business invites me hence, with master Asinius Lupus, the tribune.“ Of course his business is the betrayal of Ovid. Apparently Aesop (the name of a celebrated player, here used as a common noun) of v, 1, is the same man.

Life of Shakespeare, London, 1886, i, 281), the Privy Council decreed that „the saide house (the Globe) and none other shal be there allowed“. As for the company's difficulties during the winter, we know from *Hamlet* that the Chamberlain's men were at this very time suffering from lack of patronage. In its opposition to Jonson, the Chamberlain's company certainly did have the „Fortune“, that is, the Admiral's company, on its side. *Histrion* belongs to the Chamberlain's company; I do not, however, believe that he represents any particular actor; he is a composite portrait, embodying the pride, vice, and possession of newly acquired wealth then so frequently charged against actors.

Other players belonging to his company are mentioned as follows: (1) the eating player; (2) the fiddler *Aenobarbus*; (3) Aesop the politician; (4) Frisker, „my zany“; (5) the „fat fool, my mango“. Without doubt, these were all easily recognizable by an Elizabethan audience; but their identity is no longer discoverable.

Tucca in the *Poetaster* is the culmination of the series of portraits of soldiers and pseudo-soldiers represented by Bobadil in *Every Man in his Humour* and by Shift in *Every Man out of his Humour*. As I have shown, the name is derived from Guilpin's *Skialetheia*; Dekker (Prefatory Address to *Satiromastix*) tells us that Tucca was a more or less exact portrait of a certain Captain Hannam, of whom nothing is known.

For further notice of Puntarvolo and Amorphus, and discussion of the characters of Deliro and Fallace in *Every Man out of his Humour*, and of Albius and Chloe in the *Poetaster*, see under Monday; for Brisk and Saviolina in *Every Man out of his Humour*, Hedon and Philautia in *Cynthia's Revels*, and Tibullus, Tigellius, and Plautia in the *Poetaster*, see under Daniel.

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY: RICHARD CROOKBACK: THE APOLOGETICAL DIALOGUE.

On September 25, 1601, Henslowe paid Jonson two pounds for additions to the *Spanish Tragedy*, and again on June 24,

1602, gave him about the same amount for new additions¹⁾. These additions were first printed in the edition of 1602, the title-page of which states that it is „newly corrected, amended, and enlarged, with new additions of the Painter's part and others.“ We learn by comparing the editions of 1599 and 1602 that the scenes added by Jonson are as follows: 52 verses in ii, 4²⁾, describing the scene between Isabella and Hieronymo when they find the body of Horatio; 43 verses in iii, 11, a mad-scene between Hieronymo and two Portuguese; 70 verses in iii, 13, giving the scene between Hieronymo and his two servants, in which Hieronymo tries to prove that he is not mad; the whole passage is an obvious imitation of Hamlet; 97 verses in iii, 13, — the Painter's part; for a discussion of it, see under Marston's Antonio and Mellida; two short passages of 19 and 23 verses respectively in iv, 3, occurring just after the play within the play.

C. H. Herford, in the life of Jonson in the Dictionary of National Biography, says: „The undoubted tragic passion shown in one scene (of the additions to the Spanish Tragedy) has led most critics to doubt Jonson's authorship of it. Mr. Symonds has insisted on his possession of a romantic vein, habitually suppressed. The loss of all his early tragedy renders the question insoluble.“ Far from it. The testimony of Henslowe's Diary and the 1602 edition of the Spanish Tragedy taken in combination is explicit and amply sufficient. Even if it were not, we could still be sure of the existence of Jonson's „romantic vein“ from the subjects of his lost early tragedies and from the character of his collaborators, who were all romanticists.

On June 24, 1602, Jonson, as I have already said, received

¹⁾ „Lent unto bengemy Johnstone . . . the 24 of June, 1602, in earneste of a boocke called Richard crockbacke, and for new adicyons for Jeronymo, the some of X li.“ The sum is so large that we must conclude that it was full payment, and not earnest, for the play, especially since we find no further mention of Richard Crookback. The usual price of a play was £. 8, leaving £. 2 for the „new additions“. The highest payment up to this date was £. 8 s15.

²⁾ References are to Specimens of Pre-Shakspearean Drama, J. M. Manly, Boston, 1897, vol. ii.

from Henslowe pay for a lost tragedy called Richard Crookback — King Richard III, of course. Jonson did not include the play in his works, doubtless because it was written in the romantic style.

In the autumn of 1601, Jonson had added his Apologetical Dialogue to the Poetaster, in reply to Dekker's Satiromastix. Near the close of it he says:

„And since the Comic Muse
Hath proved so ominous to me, I'll try
If Tragedy have a more kind aspect.“

In fact, he did not again essay comedy until in 1604 he worked upon Eastward Ho! with Chapman and Marston.

I believe that in no other one of Jonson's works is there any satirical reference to Marston, Dekker, or any of the authors concerned in the great quarrel of the theatres¹⁾.

SUMMARY. I have shown, then, that the succession of Jonson's early dramatic works was as follows: A Tale of a Tub, c. 1597; The Case is Altered, probably written in 1597 and revised in January or February, 1598/9; Hot Anger soon Cold, (collaborated and lost), August 1598; Every Man in his Humour, 1598, probably very late in the year; Page of Plymouth and Scot's Tragedy (both collaborated and lost), August and September 1599; Every Man out of his Humour, February or March 1599/1600; Cynthia's Revels, February or March 1600/1; Poetaster, c. June 1601; Apologetical Dialogue, autumn of 1601; Additions to the Spanish Tragedy, September 1601 and June 1602; Richard Crookback (lost), June 1602.

Postponing all consideration of the relations of Shakspeare, Monday and Daniel to the quarrel, I have shown that Jonson

¹⁾ „Nor quaking custards with fierce teeth affrighted, Wherewith your rout are so delighted“ (prologue to Volpone, 1605) at first sight seems a hit at Marston; for „quaking custard“ was one of the phrases vomited by Crispinus in the Poetaster. But the phrase seems to have been common, and a stock matter of ridicule. Compare the Clown's song in Wily Beguiled (p. 229, Hazlitt's Dodsley's Old Plays):

„For she will so heel it,
And toe it, and trip it,
O, her buttocks will quake like a custard.“

satirized neither Rowlands, Drayton, Lyly, Rich, Whetstone, Lodge, the Burbadges, nor Henslowe, and that he probably made no allusion to Harington, Donne or Chapman; that in *Every Man out of his Humour* he ridiculed Charles Chester as Carlo Buffone; that in *A Tale of a Tub*, *The Case is Altered*, and *Every Man in his Humour*, he made no allusion to Marston or Dekker; that in *Every Man out of his Humour* he ridiculed some expressions used by Marston in *Histriomastix*, but did not bring Marston or Dekker upon the stage; that in *Cynthia's Revels* he ridiculed Marston and Dekker under the names of Hedon and Anaides, which characters, however, are in part merely new presentations of Brisk and Carlo Buffone; and that in the *Poetaster* he spent all his anger upon them as Crispinus and Demetrius.

JOHN MARSTON.

I now turn to John Marston. His father was John Marston, a counsellor of the Middle Temple; his mother was the daughter of Andrew Guarisi, an Italian physician. The poet must have been born in 1575; for on February 4, 1591/2, when he matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, as „a gentleman's son, of Co. Warwick“, he was „aged sixteen“. He obtained his degree of B. A. on February 6, 1593/4. „After completing that degree by determination,“ says Anthony à Wood, „he went his way and improved his learning in other faculties.“ John Marston Sr., in his will, dated October 24, 1599, left his law-books to „my sd son whom I hoped would have profited by them in the study of the law, but man proposeth and God disposeth.“ From this passage, it is likely that the „other faculties“ included legal study. The poet married Mary, daughter of Rev. William Wilkes, Chaplain to James I, and Rector of St. Martin's, Co. Wilts. His literary career extended only from 1598 to 1606. On October 10, 1616, he obtained the living of Christ-Church in Hampshire, and resigned it September 13, 1631. On June 25, 1634, he died in Aldermanbury Parish, London, and on the next day was buried in the Temple Church, „under the stone which hath written on it Oblivioni sacrum.“

The origin of the quarrel between Jonson and Marston has been generally assigned to 1598, because in the Apologetical Dialogue at the end of the Poetaster, written in the autumn of 1601¹⁾, Jonson says:

¹⁾ First published in the folio of 1616, but evidently written in 1601, since, Jonson tells us, it was once spoken upon the stage.

„Three years

They did provoke me with their petulant styles
On every stage; and I at last unwilling,
But weary, I confess, of so much trouble,
Thought I would try if shame could win upon 'em.“

But, as I have already pointed out, Jonson did not in these words speak particularly of his quarrels with Marston, but of his difficulties with all other writers whatsoever.

The attempt to find some evidence of a quarrel between Jonson and Marston earlier than 1599 has caused some very queer guesses. Fleay (*Shakespeariana* i, 103) says: „Previous to Jonson's putting Marston before the public as Carlo Buffone¹⁾ in *Every Man out of his Humour*, I do not believe that there exists, or ever did exist, any attack on Jonson made by Marston in a play. He had, however, been severely handled by him in his *Satires* on at least three occasions — in the character of Tubrio in *Satire* i, in the same character in the *Scourge of Villany* vii, and as Jack of Paris Garden in the latter work ix.“ Fleay has since (*Chr.* ii, 69) retracted this statement, but apparently only because of his false identification of John fo de King in Marston's *Jack Drum with Jonson*. Symonds (*Ben Jonson*, pp. 8 and 37) accepts Fleay's identification of Jonson with Tubrio and Jack of Paris Garden, and remarks that Torquatus in the prose introduction to the *Scourge of Villany* was meant for Jonson (*idem* p. 37). Herford (*Life of Jonson* in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) identifies Tubrio with Jonson. Gifford (*Works of Jonson*, 1816, ii, 517), Halliwell (*Preface to Marston's Works* p. xii), Grosart (*Marston's Poems* p. xlviii), and Bullen (*Preface to Marston's Works* p. xxx) identify Torquatus with Jonson, but without any valid evidence. Penniman's alleged proof that Torquatus was Jonson (*War* 6—11), I shall discuss later.

In my opinion, all these identifications are wholly wrong. In the first place, Jonson himself definitely told Drummond that the beginning of his quarrels with Marston was that

¹⁾ I have already shown that this identification is groundless; Fleay himself has now given it up.

Marston represented him on the stage. Marston's earliest play was *Histriomastix*, August 1599, in which, as I shall soon show, there is a representation of Jonson. Hence the presumption is overwhelmingly strong that Marston's *Satires*, published in 1598, do not contain any attack upon Jonson. A study of the *Satires* themselves fully confirms this presumption.

Tubrio in *Satire i* is a gayly dressed soldier, who pawns his finery to get means for self-indulgence in the brothel. He is a mere pretender, a profligate disguised as a soldier (*Sat. i*, 89—122). The character of Tubrio as depicted in *Scourge of Villany vii*, 100—138, is even more vile. A soldier, decked with lace, but „nought but huge blaspheming oaths, swart snout, big looks, misshapen Switzer's clothes“; a soldier, but so consumed with drunkenness and lust that he is become utterly insensible to all but his worse than bestial pleasures; such is Tubrio.

It seems almost needless to say that Jonson, who in all known representations of him by Marston and Dekker is depicted as the scholar and poet, dressed in the plainest sort of black clothes, whom Marston and Dekker never once accuse of drunkenness and lust, and whose brief military career is mentioned by them only once, and then in a casual allusion (*Satiromastix* p. 215), cannot be the person attacked as Tubrio. Tubrio is a type-character for the worthless pseudo-soldiers who swarmed in London in the last days of Elizabeth. This is conclusively shown by Marston's phrase „some lewd Tubrio“ (*S. of V. in Lectores* 76), and by the fact that Tubrio also appears (*Sat. ii*, 118) as the victim slain in a quarrel over the drab *Lais*. Jonson himself ridiculed the same class in the characters of Bobadil, Shift and Tucca.

Jack of Paris Garden is, in my opinion, nothing but an actual ape kept for show at Paris Garden¹). *Satire ix* of the

¹) In T. M.'s *The Man in the Moone*, 1609, reprinted by the Percy Society, we read: „There is no excesse in his cloake; he tooke the length thereof by the old apes of Paris Garden.“ (p. 15). Rowlands speaks of „A bunch that doth resemble such a shape, And hayred like to Paris Garden Ape.“ (*Letting of Humour's Blood*, 1600, *Sat. ii*). In *Wily Beguiled* (*Hazlitt's Dodsley's Old Plays*, ix, p. 310) we read: „He walks as stately as the great baboon.“ Perhaps „the great baboon“ is the individual referred to by Marston.

Satire ix of the Scourge of Villany, in which the mention of Jack is found, is entitled „Here's a toy to mock an ape indeed“. In it Marston calls all men apes, dealing first with „Judicial Jack“, that is, with judges, who are nothing but apes (11—20); then with „yon Athens ape“, that is, with apish university graduates that ignorantly criticise authors (21—37) or imitate „the tricky, learned, nicking strain, of this applauded, senseless, modern vein“. (37—53); then with a man who writes sweet verse, but „apishly“ affects in his prose to speak „beyond men's apprehension“ (54—71). Then Marston addresses Old Jack of Paris Garden, telling him that, if he can imitate the vices and follies common among young men, he may call them brothers; for they, too, have no real humanity. Yet Jack is better than they; for they imitate not merely the mows and scratchings of others, but also fantastic fashions, beastly luxuries, hell-devised lustful villanies, that even apes and beasts would blush to mimic (S. of V. ix, 72—100). No sensible man, I think, taking the passage in connection with the title of the satire and the context, can fail to think my interpretation of it correct.

The passage referring to Torquatus reads as follows: „Yet when, by some scurvy chance, it (my book) shall come into the late perfumed fist of judicial Torquatus (that, like some rotten stick in a troubled water, hath got a great deal of barmy froth to stick to his sides), I know he will vouchsafe it some of his new-minted epithets (as real, intrinsecate, Delphic), when in my conscience he understands not the least part of it. But from thence proceeds his judgment.“ (To those that seem judicial perusers, before S. of V., p. 305.)

Penniman's „proof“ that Torquatus must mean Jonson is, as follows: The adjective „Torquatus“ was applied to Roman soldiers „who were for special bravery presented with a torques, or neck chain“, and might also mean „the man with something around his neck“. Jonson boasted of having „killed ane enemie and taken opima spolia from him“, and afterwards came near being hanged. Moreover, the „late-perfumed fist“ may be an allusion to the fact that Jonson had been branded on the thumb (War 6—8). The three words „real“, „intrinse-

cate“, and „Delphic“, are all found in Jonson’s work, and „real“ occurs in work „probably earlier“ than Marston’s *Satires* (War 8—11). This „proof“ is fantastic; if there were no arguments against the identification, it would still be very improbable; for the simple and plain interpretation of „Torquatus“ is „the one adorned with a neck-chain or collar“ (Harper’s *Latin Dictionary*), „the one richly adorned“; the plain interpretation of „late-perfumed fist“ is that it refers to the dainty hand of some fop; and the words „real“, „intrinsecate“, and „Delphic“ are well-known affected words of the time. But we have convincing evidence against the identification. In the first place, Jonson’s duel did not take place until September 22, 1598, and his trial in the following month; but the *Scourge of Villany* was entered September 8, 1598. Secondly — and this point by itself is conclusive — we have Jonson’s express declaration that Marston first attacked him in a play; and, as I shall soon show, Marston’s first play appeared nearly a year later than the *Scourge of Villany*. Further, Jonson is always represented by himself, Marston and Dekker, as very modestly clad in black, and smelling not of a pomander, but of lamp-oil. The whole tone of the passage about Torquatus leaves no doubt that the reference is not to Jonson, but to some half-educated courtly critic now incapable of identification, or more probably, to a type-character standing for the whole class of such critics. Finally, in Marston’s *Scourge of Villany* xi, 98 ff., Torquatus is again described in such terms as to make my explanation absolutely certain:

„Room for Torquatus, that ne’er oped his lip
But in prate of pommado reversa,
Of the nimble, tumbling Angelica.
Now, on my soul, his very intellect
Is nought but a curvetting sommerset.“¹⁾

Marston’s *Satires* and *Scourge of Villany*, then, contain no allusion to Jonson.

¹⁾ Penniman apparently adopts Grosart’s tentative explanation that Sommerset is „meant for a hidden stroke at Torquatus, i. e., Jonson’s adulation of Somerset“ (War 11). Inasmuch as there was no Earl of Somerset until fifteen years after the appearance of this passage, the explanation is decidedly funny.

HISTRIONASTIX. I now turn to *Histrionastix*. This is a poor half-allegorical comedy published anonymously for Thomas Thorpe in 1610. I shall show, however, that it is an old play revised by Marston in 1599.

It is necessary first of all to prove that Marston wrote at least part of it, and to show just how much should be attributed to him. In the introduction to the play *Histromastix* as printed in *The School of Shakspeare* (which appeared in 1878) Richard Simpson says: „The drama as it has come to us is manifestly the work of two hands, and of two times. This is proved both by the confusion of the sub-play in Act II, and by the alternative endings of the play. . . . The author of the new additions to the play is clearly Marston. His unmistakable swagger begins to appear in Act II, where he begins to transmute the Academic Philosopher Crysoganus of the old play into the Poet-scholar Crysoganus of the new, and Harriot becomes Jonson or Marston. . . . In this same act the sub-play of *Troilus* is also Marston's. In the 3rd Act Marston's work begins with the entrance of Crysoganus, and it continues at least to the beginning of the 6th Act. Perhaps I ought to except the scenes where the players appear. These may belong to the older drama; as they are either in prose or in doggerel, the tests which prove Marston's blank verse fail us.“ (Sch. of Shakspeare, ii, pp. 3—4.) The older portion of the play, Simpson thinks, was by Peele (pp. 10—15). A. H. Bullen, in the introduction to his edition of Marston, simply says: „Only in a few scenes of *Histrionastix* can Marston's hand be detected“, and refuses to include the play in his edition (*Marston's Works*, i, p. lii). F. G. Fleay says that Marston wrote the whole play; for Jonson put into the mouth of his *Clove* (*Ev. Man out of his H.* iii, 1) ridiculous words taken from *Histrionastix* along with others found in Marston's *Satires* (*Chr.* ii, 70). „The alteration for the Court“, he continues, „seems to have introduced a good deal of confusion between *Fourcher* and *Voucher* in iv, 1, vi, 3. *Incle* was also imperfectly expunged when *Gulet* (sic: read *Gulch*) and *Clout* were added; but there is no shadow of reason in supposing any dual authorship.“ (*Chr.* ii, 72.) A. C. Swinburne characteristically dismisses the whole matter

as insignificant (John Marston, *Nineteenth Century*, xxiv, 531 ff.). Ph. Aronstein (John Marston als dramatischer, *Englische Studien*, xx, 377—397) confesses himself puzzled by the play. „Some parts“, he says, „are written in the style of Jonson, others in that of Marston“, and „Jonson apparently ascribed the play to Marston, and it is not impossible that he wrote it, and was afterwards ashamed to own it.“ (p. 387). Henry Wood (*Shakespeare Burlesqued*, *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xvi, 1895, pp. 273—299) accepts Marston as the author of the entire play (p. 274 footnote). Penniman dodges the question (War 31—32).

In spite of the great weight of opinion to the contrary, Simpson's unsupported guesses with regard to Marston's share in the play were in the main correct. That *Histriomastix* has been altered by a later hand is shown by the two endings, one original, the other for the Court¹⁾, by the partial elimination of Incle and Calamanca and the constant confusion among certain other characters²⁾, by the partial substitution

¹⁾ The one for the Court, in which Peace pays homage to Queen Elizabeth in the person of Astraea, is of course later than that in which Plenty, Pride, Envy, War, and Poverty, resign their sceptres to Peace. Strangely enough, Simpson inverts the facts, saying: „This alternative arrangement seems to show that the play was originally written in the reign of Elizabeth, and was remodelled when it was no longer necessary to flatter her.“ (Sch. of Sh. ii, 4).

²⁾ Bellula is the wife of Mavortius in iii, 294; iv, 1—23; 118—131; vi, 71—88.

Champerty is the wife of Fourcher in iii, 243—4; v, 224—231: but of Voucher in iv, 24—45; 101—117.

Fillisella is the wife of Fourcher in vi, 155—173: but apparently of Philarchus in iii, 258.

Perpetuana is the wife of Velure in iv, 46—100; v, 233—6: of Lyonrash in vi, 155—173: apparently of Philarchus in vi, 71—84.

Calamanca's name occurs only in iii, 243, as the wife of either Velure or Lyonrash. She seems to have been replaced by Perpetuana in the revision. In i, 112—153, the players are Incle, Belch, and Gut; then Incle the Pedlar disappears, and, in i, 154, Clout suddenly appears in his place. In ii, 80, we first hear of Gulch. After that, the composition of the company remains constant — Belch, Gut, Clout, and Gulch, with the poet Posthaste.

We have a complete chain of name-forms connecting Fourcher and Voucher, the two lawyers:

Fourcher, i, 163, 164; iii, 243; v, 192; vi, 139.

of the interlude of Troilus and Cressida for that of the Prodigal Child (ii, 255—8), by the insertion of the words „The Spaniards are come“ (v, 234) in the midst of the account of a civil broil¹⁾, and by the most satisfactory evidence of style and characterization.

The one portion of the play bears all the ear-marks of Marston's early style, while the other, evidently the remnant of an older play, is in style similar to the work of Peele or Greene. Compare, for example, the following two speeches:

„Write on, cry on, yawl to the common sort
Of thickskinned auditors such rotten stuffs
More fit to fill the *Paunch of *Esquiline
Than feed the hearings of judicial ears.
Ye shades, triumph, while foggy ignorance
Clouds bright Apollo's beauty! Time will clear
The misty dulness of spectators' eyes;
Then, woeful hisses to your *fopperies!
O age, when every scrivener's boy shall dip
Profaning quills into Thessalia's spring;
When every artist prentice that hath read
The Pleasant Pantry of Conceits shall dare
To write as confident as Hercules;
When every ballad-monger boldly writes,
And windy *froth of *bottle-ale doth fill
Their purest organ of invention —
Yet all applauded and *puft-up with pride
Swell in conceit and load the stage with stuff
Raked from the rotten embers of stall jests.“ (iii, 189—209)²⁾.

This is from the Marstonian portion; now turn to the other:

Furher, ii, 152; iii, 20.

Fourchier, v, 191.

Vourchier, ii, 152.

Vourcher, i, 167; iii, 20, 28; v, 191, 236; vi, 139.

Voucher, i, 163, 168.

These are, however, simply errors in spelling, very possibly merely typographical; the case with regard to the women and players is very different.

¹⁾ The words are clearly a later insertion, although Simpson advances the strange idea that they are a survival of the original play, and that the account of the civil strife was constructed around them. This idea comes from the wrong date assigned by him to the remodeling of the play.

²⁾ The starred words are favourites with Marston.

„I blush in your behalfs at this base trash.
 In honour of our Italy we sport
 As if a synod of the holy gods
 Came to triumph within our theatres —
 (Always commending English courtesy).
 Our Amphitheatres and Pyramides
 Are situate like three-headed Dindymus,
 Where stands the statutes of three striving queens
 That once contended for the golden ball —
 (Always commending English courtesy).
 Are not your curious dames of sharper spirit?
 I have a mistress whose entangling wit
 Will turn and wind more cunning argument
 Than could the Cretan Labyrinth ingyre —
 (Always commending English courtesy).“ (ii, 322 ff.).

Fleay and Wood to the contrary notwithstanding, nothing could be plainer than that these two speeches are by different hands and belong to different schools of verse; and throughout the play, except in the case of the player-scenes, which are mainly written in prose or doggerel, it is easy to separate the two portions.

After a long course of tedious allegory and lecturing, with line 63 of Act ii we spring very suddenly into Marston's work:

„How, you translating scholar? you can make
 A stabbing satire or an epigram,
 And think you carry just Rhamnusia's whip
 To lash the patient; go, get you clothes,
 Our free-born blood such apprehension loathes.“

With this compare the following:

„I bear the scourge of just Rhamnusia,
 Lashing the lewdness of Britannia.“ (S. of V. Proem Lib. i, 1).
 „Think'st thou a libertine, an ungyved breast,
 Scorns not the shackles of thy envious clogs?“
 (What You Will, iii, 1, 137–8).

The burlesque Troilus and Cressida is by Marston (ii, 247–260; 269–279), as well as the comments of Landulpho and Mavortius in ii, 261–268; but the fragment of the interlude of the Prodigal Child (ii, 281–288) and the speech „Always commending English courtesy“ (ii, 322–336) belong to the earlier play. Indeed, I see no more of Marston's workmanship until iii, 179; but from that point to v, 191, the fre-

quency of unmistakably Marstonian passages warrants the conclusion that practically the whole is by him. The following lines, for example, are quite characteristic of him:

I. „How soon they can remember to forget“ etc. (iii, 270 ff.).

Cf: „But O remember to forget thyself.“

(Antonio and Mellida, iv, 1, 119),

and

„I should remember to forget myself“, W. Y. W. iii, 1, 4.

II. „My soul is big in travail with revenge,
And I could rip her womb up with a stab,
To free the imprisoned issue of my thought.
O, how this vulture, vile ambition,
Tires on the heart of greatness, and devours
Their bleeding honours, whilst their empty names
Lie chain'd unto the bill of infamy;
Now is the time wherein a melting eye
May spend itself in tears, and with salt drops
Write woe and desolation in the dust,
Upon the frightened bosom of our land.
Pity and Piety are both exiled,
Religion buried with our fathers' bones,
In the cold earth, and nothing but her face
Left to adorn these gross and impious times.“ v, 132—146.
Cf.: „Pity and Piety are long since dead.“ W. Y. W. i, 1, 49.

III. „O, I could wish myself consumed in air
When I behold these huge fat lumps of flesh,
These big-bulkt painted posts that senseless stand
To have their backs pasted with dignity,
Quite choking up all passage to respect —
These huge Colossi that roll up and down,
And fill up all the seat of man with froth
Of outward semblance,“ etc. iv, 132—158.

IV. „Horror shall greet the bosom of green youth,
The melting liver of pied gallantry,
The wrinkled vizard of devotion,
The chevril conscience of corrupted law,
And frozen heart of gouty merchandise.
~~H~~orror, wound these, strike palsies in their limbs,
And as thou stalk'st in thy prodigious shape,
And meet'st a fellow swoln with mounted place,
Shake him with glances of thy hollow eyes,
And let thy vigour live as his heart dies.“ v, 26—35.

V. „See, see, this common beast the multitude,
Transported thus with fury how it raves,
Threatening all states with ruin, to englut

Their bestial and more brutish appetites!
 O you auspicious and divinest powers,
 That in your wisdom suffer such dread plagues
 To flow and cover a rebellious land,
 Give end unto their furies; and drive back
 The roaring torrent on the authors' heads,
 That in their pride of rage all eyes may see
 Justice hath whips to scourge impiety!" v, 182—191.

After v, 191, I see no further trace of Marston's hand, except the words „The Spaniards are come“ (v, 234) and the court-ending of the play¹⁾ which were added by him.

The style of the remainder of the play conspicuously lacks the very qualities that characterize the Marstonian part — virility, picturesqueness, strenuousness. Take, for example, the following typical passage:

„Mavo. But if by art, as all our artists say,
 There is no real truth to be attained,
 Why should we labour in their [the Sciences'] loves bestow?
 The wisest said, I know I nothing know.
 Chri. The wisest was a fool for saying so;
 That oracle pronounc'd wise Socrates;
 For do I know I see you, or the light?
 Or do you know you hear me, or I touch you?
 Phil. All this we needs must know, assuredly.
 Chri. If this be certain, then, which comes from sense,
 The knowledge proper to the soul is truer;
 For that pure knowledge by the which we know
 A thing to be, with true cause how it is,
 Is more exact than that which knows it is,
 And reacheth not to knowledge of the cause.
 Besides, that knowledge that considers things
 Abjunct from sensitive matter is exacter
 Than that which joins itself with elements.
 Arithmetic ever considers numbers
 Abstract from sensitive matter; Music still
 Considers it with sense, as mixt with sound.

¹⁾ „Here comes Amazement's object, Wonder's height,
 Peace's patroness, Heaven's miracle,
 Virtue's honour, Earth's admiration,
 Chastity's crown, Justice' perfection,“ etc. (Hist. vi, 261—4).

Cf.: „Honour's redeemer, virtue's advancer, religion's shelter, and piety's fosterer.“ Dedication of Antonio and Mellida.

Therefore Arithmetic is more exact,
 And more exact than is Geometry;
 Since unitas is still simplicior puncto,
 And number simpler than is magnitude.
 For unitas may still be sine puncto,
 But punctus never without unity,
 Nor magnitudo sine numero.
 Dum enim punctus ponitur, ponitur ex necessitate unitas.⁴

i, 73—101.

Or take this, representative of another aspect of the old play:

„Perp. From poverty to famine, worse and worse.
 Fili. The scourge of pride, and heaven's detested curse.
 Perp. Where's that excess consumed upon the back?
 Fili. Sunk down to hell, whilst hunger feels the lack.
 Perp. Who now will pity us, that scorn'd the poor?
 Fili. Pity is past when Peace is out of door.
 Perp. Drink thou my tears and I will drink up thine.
 For nought but tears is misery's salt wine.
 Fili. We that have scorn'd to dress our meat ourselves
 Now would be glad if we had meat to dress.
 Perp. And if Lament were remedy for want,
 Their cates were coarse that in Lament were scant.
 Lyon. Comfort, sweet wife, ill lasts not always so;
 And good sometimes makes end of lingring woe.
 Perp. My grief is thine.
 Lyon. And mine is most for thee.
 Perp. My care is thine.
 Lyon. Be mine for thee and me.“ vi, 156—173.

I may remark that from ii, 63, to v, 191, the word „starve“ is consistently used (iii, 183, 312; iv, 196) as everywhere in Marston's works; but in the other part of the play, only the archaic „hungerstarve“ occurs (ii, 26; vi, 184).

With the division of the play made on stylistic grounds coincides that suggested by the change in the characterization of Chrysogonus. In the beginning and end of the play, he is a stoical lecturer, particularly skilled in astronomy, but with no inclination to creative literature (i, 68—107; 182—251; ii, 45—62; v, 244—267; vi, 89—138). From ii, 63, to v, 191, however, he is a „translating scholar“, satirist, epigrammatist, (ii, 63—67); he is a dramatist, and demands ten pounds for a play (iii, 179—180), and, on being refused, inveighs against

ballad-monger playwrights (iii, 189—209); and he rages against the injustice of fate and the fickleness of the multitude in a wholly unstoical fashion (iv, 132—158; v, 135—146; 181—191).

Still further, a comparative metrical analysis of the verse-lines in the portion of the play which I have ascribed to Marston for reasons of style and characterization (ii, 63—69; 128—129; 247—280; iii, 179, to v, 191) and of the verse-lines of the rest of the drama, strikingly confirms my division; and this, too, in spite of the fact that the main distinction between Marston's work and that of the earlier author lies not in the number of end-stopped lines and rhymes, but in the choice and collocation of words, and in the indescribable crescendo effects of Marston's verse-harmonies. The results of my analysis are as follows¹):

	Total verse- lines.	Endstopt lines.	Percentage.	Rhymed lines.	Percentage.
Marstonian verse-lines	426	319	75	92	21. 5
Non-Marstonian verse-lines	713	615	86	202	30

The differences in percentage shown, though comparatively slight, are convincing; for, since the subjects dealt with in the two portions of the play are precisely similar, there is absolutely no reason for any difference at all except in the personal manner of writing of the two authors.

Thus far I have barely touched on the authorship of the player-scenes, in which, as I have said, it is much more difficult to distinguish the Marstonian portions. No one has hitherto attempted to divide them. The scenes in Acts iii (179—243) and iv (159—201) I have unhesitatingly assigned to Marston; for, while all the other player-scenes are in doggerel and prose, these, which include many undoubtedly Marstonian passages and are imbedded in Marstonian work, are mainly in deca-

¹) I do not include the court-ending of the play, a later addition undoubtedly made by Marston, because from its very nature it is incapable of comparison with the rest.

syllabic verse¹⁾. I have also given to Marston the only remaining lines of blank-verse to be found in the player-scenes: —

Here's no new luxury or blandishment,
But plenty of old England's mothers' words.“ ii, 128—9.

The player-scene in Act i (112—163), on the contrary, belongs to the earlier play; because the partially expunged character Incle plays a prominent part in the whole of it. So the scene in Act ii (70—147), excepting the two blank-verse lines already mentioned, must be a part of the older play; for almost the whole of it is devoted to preparations for the play of the Prodigal Child, which, as is evident from the fragment remaining in ii, 281—288, constituted the original interlude presented by Posthaste's men²⁾. With regard to the very short scene ii, 188—224, it is impossible to speak with confidence; I assume that it belongs to the earlier play. The Players' Song (ii, 247—254) is, from its connection and contents, doubtless by Marston; the succeeding lines (255—279) containing the intruded Troilus and Cressida play are certainly by him. The fragment of the nearly obliterated Prodigal Child interlude (ii, 281—288) is as certainly a part of the older play.

So is Posthaste's extemporaneous singing (ii, 293—320), for the song is criticised by Landulpho in the passage (ii, 322—336) already quoted as eminently characteristic of the early play. The last player-scene (vi, 187—240) is, in the main, a virulent attack upon the moral character of the players, evidently considered as typical members of the whole „quality“. This must certainly belong to the old *Histriomastix*. In this scene the players, having been impressed as soldiers because they were idle and harmful to the state, are shipped away. Since the only remaining player-scene (v, 60—102) is occupied with the story of that very impressment, it, too, must be a portion of the old play. Of the Posthaste scenes, then, only iii, 179—243; iv, 159—201; ii, 128—129; and ii, 247—279,

¹⁾ iii, 179—243 is wholly in verse, and iv, 159—201 is just about evenly divided between verse and prose.

²⁾ See lines 93—115; 120—126; 131—140. „The Lascivious Knight and Lady Nature“ (line 90) was the play intended for presentation in the town, but „refused“ (ii, 145) on the invitation of Mavortius to play in his hall.

were written by Marston; the remainder — i, 112—163; ii, 70—147 (except ll. 128—129); ii, 188—224, 281—320; v, 60—102; and vi, 187—240 — belong to the original play. This division, however, is subject to correction in details; Marston may have inserted prose passages here and there in the older scenes, and may have retained some sentences in the scenes mainly by him.

To the whole theory of dual authorship, however, Fleay objects that, since „Zodiac“ and „ecliptic“ (i, 215), „tropics“ (i, 216), „demonstrate“ (i, 226), and „mathematical“ (i, 190) are, in *Every Man out of his Humour* (iii, 1, p. 178), coupled with the Marstonian words ridiculed there, the whole of *Histriomastix* must be Marston's. Not at all. For, as I have already shown, of the thirty-nine words and expressions ridiculed in Clove's three speeches, only six occur in Marston's undoubted work. Nor, as I have also pointed out, can the character of Clove possibly be meant for Marston, or a talker of exclusively Marstonian fustian; he is simply a talker of fustian culled from the latest plays and poems, or manufactured for the occasion.

The determination of the authorship and date of the original *Histriomastix*¹⁾ is a matter of no great importance for this paper; the investigation, however, is worth pursuing. With regard to the question, Simpson alone has hazarded a conjecture. From the fact that Peele's *Honour of the Garter*, 1593, voices much the same feeling as the play, Simpson guesses that Peele was the author of *Histriomastix*; and upon this guess he builds up an elaborate argument that the original play was an attack upon Shakspere, who, according to tradition, „began as a ballad-maker (on Sir Thomas Lucy)“, and who „may have written a *Prodigal Child*, as Posthaste is said to have done“. (Sch. of Sh. ii, pp. 9—15.) He says that the play was intended for university or school acting (p. 9), and was written about 1590 (p. 14).

With practically all of this I disagree. Since Marston's additions to the play are relatively small, we can easily ascer-

¹⁾ The portions preserved to us are the following: i; ii, 1—63; 70 to 127; 130—246; 279—344; iii, 1—178; v, 191—267; vi.

tain the original plan. That plan was to trace in allegorical fashion the succession of Peace, Plenty, Pride, Envy, War, and Poverty,¹⁾ devoting one act to each of them, to exhibit the conduct of public players under each set of conditions, and to throw the blame for the evils of humanity largely upon them. Accordingly, when at last Peace returns for other men, the satirical, selfish, lustful, idle, and unrepentant (vi, 200—237) players are impressed and sent out of the country. Surely such an attack, evidently made upon the whole class of players and not upon any particular company, could never have appeared upon the public stage. In the play itself, too, I find abundant evidence that it was performed by boys. In the old portion of the play there are still no fewer than six songs (i, 112—121; 252—269; ii, 86; 193—200; 293—298; 304—319) and a morris-dance (ii, 181); it is probable that Marston replaced several others by his additions. All this is eminently characteristic of a boys' play. So, too, is the striking moral purity of the play, as judged by Elizabethan standards. Again, we read in i, 174—177: „Why this going to a play is now all the fashion.“ „Why then let's go where we may hear sweet music and delicate songs, for the harmony of music is so heavenlike that I love it with my life“ (i. e., let us go to hear a children's company, for they are famous for their music). And, finally, in Act i no less than eight female and five male characters appear on the stage at once; only a boys' company would dare to undertake a play with so many women in it. That the play was not performed at a university is shown not merely by the arguments just given, but also by the evident fact that the play was acted in the City²⁾. The only children's company performing in London between 1590 and 1599 was that of the children of the Chapel. Hence the original play must have been either presented by them or privately given at some school. It is well known that the child-actors were always at jealousies with the public theaters.

The date of the old *Histriomastix* is surely later than 1592;

¹⁾ The general conception was familiar. See Sch. of Sh. ii, pp. 87—88.

²⁾ E. g., „We i' th' City here“ v, 208. „Our City“ v, 219, etc. *passim*.

for the early portion contains an allusion to Greene's *Dispute between Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches*, 1592¹⁾. From the universal and well-recognized principle that specificness belongs to history rather than to prophecy, I think it almost certain that this play was written at a time when the evils pictured in the last acts — war, impressments, poverty, famine, and riot — had already taken the place of Peace and Plenty; human nature is not likely to predict uncertain evil upon the stage. The play must, too, have been composed at a time of special enmity against the public actors. We know from internal evidence that it was presented during the long vacation²⁾. To the summer of what year shall we assign it? I answer with little hesitation, to the summer of 1596; for in that year alone of the last decade of the sixteenth century are all the conditions fulfilled.

On September 13, 1595, the Mayor complained to the Privy Council (Council Registers quoted by Halliwell in his *Illustrations*, p. 20) of the reopening of the „old haunts“ of the Theatre and Bankside. In the summer of 1596 Nash wrote to William Cotton (*Collier* i, 292) that „the players are piteously persecuted by the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen“. On July 28, 1597, the Privy Council (Council Registers quoted by Halliwell, *Illustrations*, p. 21) ordered the demolition of all theatres within three miles of London, because of disorders at the play-houses and offensive allusions in the plays.

¹⁾ „Ush. Ay, but is it my lady's pleasure?

Clark. What else? She scorns to wear cloth-breeches, man.“ ii, 178.

There is also in the play an allusion to Greene's *Defence of Cony-catching*, 1592: „Half a share, half a shirt. A comedian, a whole share, or turn chameleon.“ iv, 191.

Greene says: „As they were comedians to art, so the actions of their lives were chameleon-like.“ (Simpson). But, since this second passage occurs in the midst of Marstonian work, it probably belongs to the recension of the play.

²⁾ „This dreaming long vacation“; ii, 156.

„Yet a verse may run clear that is tapped out of beer, Especially in the vacation.“ ii, 314—5.

„For mine own part, though, this summer season, I am desperate of a horse.“ ii, 211—2.

On April 9, 1596, one thousand men were pressed to aid the French at Calais against the Spaniards, but returned within a week, since the French had already lost the city (Stow's *Annales*, p. 770). The great expedition to Cadiz sailed on June 1, 1596 (Stow, p. 771).

Wheat rose in 1595 „from 14 s. to 4 marks the quarter.“ Eggs, Stow tells us, sold for a penny apiece¹⁾. In 1596, the crops failed, and a great dearth continued throughout the year.

Civil riots were rife, because of the famine. By reason of „unlawful assemblies and riots“, says Stow under date of 1595 (pp. 769—770), „compounded of sundry sorts of base people, some prentices, and some others wandering idle persons, of condition rogues and vagabonds, and some colouring their wandering by the name of souldiers²⁾, her Majestie . . . notified her pleasure to the Councell, to prescribe orders to be published, and straightly observed, and for that purpose a Provost Marshall with sufficient authority to apprehend all such as should not be readily reformed and corrected by the ordinary officers of Justice, and that without delay to execute upon the Gallows by order of martiall law.“ On July 22, accordingly, five were executed. Since the cause of the riots continued all through the next year, it is extremely likely that the riots themselves did not cease; at any rate, the people must have been in constant fear of them.

Since, I repeat, there is in the last decade of the century no other summer in which enmity against the theatres, war and impressments, poverty and famine, and serious rioting can be found together, we must assign the old *Histriomastix* to the year 1596.

Since, then, the old *Histriomastix* is anterior in date to the great quarrel, and was an attack not upon a particular dramatist or a particular theatrical company, but upon play-actors in general, the search for the author becomes for us a

¹⁾ Compare *Histriomastix* vi, 196—8: „Host. The Sharers' dinners sixpence apiece. The hirelings' — — pence (sic). Post. What, sixpence an egg, and two and two at an egg? Host. Faith, famine affords no more.“

²⁾ No doubt the „Calais cormorants from Dover road“ of whom we hear in *Hist.* iii, 100.

question of merely curious interest. With regard to it, I am unable to make any definite statement. Simpson is doubtless wrong in assigning the play to Peele. He has brought forward no evidence whatever in support of his hypothesis, except that the first act of *Histriomastix* and Peele's *Honour of the Garter* contain similar lamentations over the neglect of learning. Such lamentations must have been very common among all the university men of the time. Moreover, I have shown that the play was probably written in 1596; if this date is correct, Peele almost surely was not the author, because, in all probability, he died early in that year¹).

Nevertheless, although I cannot confidently name the author, I wish to call attention to the existence of some rather striking likenesses between the old *Histriomastix* and George Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*. This play, the second with which Chapman's name has been connected, and the first preserved to us, is mentioned by Henslowe on February 12, 1595/6, a few months before the date to which I assign the old *Histriomastix*.

In the first place, the style of the two plays is essentially the same — monotonous, generally endstopt lines, devoid of passion and spring. Secondly, the general plan, subject-matter, and execution of the old *Histriomastix* — didactic, pedantic, always suggestive of lamp-oil and rug-gown — are just what might be expected in an early dramatic effort of Chapman. Thirdly, a characteristic trick of the author of the old *Histriomastix* is to produce a kind of stanzaic structure by making a series of speeches of the same length and ending each with a couplet, or by repeating a line at regular intervals. Thus, i, 16—44, shows seven four-line stanzas; vi, 16—31, shows four four-line stanzas; ii, 322—336, shows three five-line stanzas. The same habit is characteristic of Chapman. Examples are: *Blind Beggar*, p. 13 (Chatto and Windus); „Out of my treasury“ ff.; *Blind Beggar*, p. 1, „What shall I use then“ ff.: these two series of lines fall into perfectly regular stanzas. Somewhat less regular are: Bussy D'Ambois iii, 1, p. 156;

¹) He was very ill in January 1596, and was dead in 1598; we hear nothing of him after the first date.

Revenge of Bussy i, 1, p. 184; Bussy iii, 1, pp. 161—2; Byron's Conspiracy ii, 1, pp. 222—3; Blind Beggar, pp. 4—5. But this structure also finds parallels in Patient Grissel iv, 2, in Henry VI, in Greene's Orlando Furioso, and at the beginning of A Looking-glass for London and England. Fourthly, I find some resemblances in detail between the old *Histriomastix* and *The Blind Beggar*. Such are the very similar passages *Hist.* iii, 135—150 and *B. B.* p. 12, „Twenty are making“ ff. Chapman uses „hunger-starved“ (*B. B.* p. 14), as does the author of the old *Histriomastix* (ii, 26; vi, 184). Examples of passages showing the close likeness in verse-structure and verse-harmonies between the two plays, are the following: „Now sit we high, triumphant in our sway“ *Hist.* i, 6; „Sitting itself triumphing in their thrones“ *B. B.* p. 14; also, on a more extensive scale, *Hist.* vi. 156—173 and *B. B.* p. 20, „My lord, the offer“ etc.

The possibility that Chapman wrote the old *Histriomastix* is not destroyed by the fact that in *Bussy* i, 1, p. 156, Chapman uses „peace“ as an intransitive verb — a use severely ridiculed in *Hist.* iv, 164 ff.; for the passage in *Histriomastix* occurs in the midst of the Marstonian fourth act, and was undoubtedly written by Marston. It cannot allude to Chapman's use of the word in *Bussy*, for *Bussy* was surely not composed before 1600. The intransitive verb „peace“ occurs elsewhere, as, for example, in the Induction to the *Mirroure for Magistrates* (Sackville's Works, ed. Sackville-West, London, 1859, p. 121), and in *Richard II.* v, 2, 81; *Lear* iv, 6, 104; *Othello* v, 2, 219.

Although, then, my evidence is far too weak to warrant an assertion that Chapman wrote the old *Histriomastix*, it is sufficient to show the propriety of further study upon that hypothesis. At any rate, it indicates that the old *Histriomastix* was written under the influences that formed Chapman's early dramatic style, and confirms the date assigned by me to the play.

With regard to the date of the Marstonian part of *Histriomastix*, Simpson says: „The alternative endings would suggest that the new additions were made after the death of Elizabeth¹⁾).

¹⁾ See p. 68. Simpson thought that the civil broil meant the Essex rebellion of 1601.

But external testimony forces me to conclude that Marston had worked upon the play even before 1599." (Sch. of Sh. ii, pp. 4—5). The „external testimony“ is the allusion of Clove (whom Simpson wrongly identifies with Marston) to *Histriomastix* in *Every Man out of his Humour*. Fleay (Chr. i, 361) believes that *Every Man out of his Humour* first appeared in April, 1599, and of course places *Histriomastix* before that date, but apparently after January, 1599; for he says (Chr. ii, 72): „I do not suppose that the Posthaste company were actually impressed as soldiers; but it is just worth mention, as confirming the date assigned to this play, that such presses as that in vi, 5, began to be made in Jan. 1599.“ Of course, Fleay supposes the whole play to have been composed at this time, since he ascribes it all to Marston. I have already shown that his date for *Every Man out of his Humour* is wrong, and that large impressments were made as early as 1596, April. Penniman vaguely assigns the present form of the play to 1599 (War 33).

Histriomastix in its present form was indeed acted before *Every Man out of his Humour*, which contains words taken from both parts of the play. „Proud statute rogues“ (iii, 243) is an allusion to the act of 1597, which declared strolling players „rogues and vagabonds“. The words „The Spaniards are come“ (v, 234), however, enable us to determine the very month in which the play was produced — August, 1599. For the allusion is clearly to the great fright of that month, which Stow (*Annales*, ed. 1631, pp. 788—9) describes as follows: — „1599. This yeere in the mōneth of August, the beginning thereof, politickly preventing danger feared to happen, by occasion of some preparation of shipping to have beene made in Spaine (as was pretended) to the annoyance of this our estate . . . the citizens of London were charged with the furnishing and setting foorth to sea, of twelve shippes, since increased to sixteene; Also with sixe thousand men, and furniture for the warres, which men with all speed were made in a readinesse; The chaines were drawne thwart the streets. and lanes of the Citie, and Lanthornes with lights of candles hanged out at every mans doore, there to burne all night and

so from night to night, upon paine of death, and great watches kept in the streetes, which hanging out of lights so continued some foureteene nights or better. In this meane space, many thousandes of horsemen and footmen . . . were brought up to London, where they were lodged in the suburbes, Townes, and villages neere adjoyning, from the 8 of August, til the twentieth or threeand twentieth; . . . and then all discharged homewards, with charge to bee alwayes ready at one houres warning."

Fleay's assertion that „the extra-metrical words ,the Spaniards are come'¹⁾ seem to have been inserted for this (the Court-) performance when the fear had passed away“, arises solely from his assumption of a wrong date for Every Man out of his Humour, and is as certainly incorrect as Simpson's idea that these words belonged to the old play, and the remainder of the passage to the new. For the words could have no possible point unless they were the expression of the actual, present fear of the audience, or, if you will, a satiric hit at that fear. If an allusion to a past fear of foreign invasion had been introduced into a court-presentation of a play in Elizabeth's time, it would infallibly have taken the form of an added laudation in the epilogue. The play as revised by Marston was, then, presented in 1599, between August 1, when the sudden preparations for war were commenced, and September 4, when the troops of armed citizens were disbanded.

With regard to the actors of the play, Simpson merely says: „In its revised form it is clearly one of the series of plays in which the boy-actors went to buffets with the men-actors of the common stages, and the boys' poets abused the men's poets.“ (Sch. of Sh. ii, p. 9). Fleay, after forming and giving up one hypothesis²⁾, has enunciated a very clever theory³⁾ to the following effect: The longer ending of *Histriomastix* shows that it was performed at court in 1599 or soon afterwards; during 1599 and 1600, the only performances at Court

¹⁾ The so-called „extra-metrical words“ occur in a prose passage.

²⁾ Stated in *Life of Shakespeare*, 1886, pp. 223—4.

³⁾ *Hist. of Stage*, pp. 105—6; *Chr. ii*, 70—72. The theory is endorsed by Penniman (*War* 33).

were three by the Chamberlain's men, two by the Admiral's and one, on February 5, 1600/1, by Derby's. The Chamberlain's men cannot have presented *Histriomastix*; for it is ridiculed by Jonson in *Every Man out of his Humour*, a Chamberlain's play. It is known that the Admiral's men presented *Fortunatus* and the *Shoemaker's Holiday*. Hence *Histriomastix* must have been given by Derby's men.

Ingenious as Fleay's hypothesis is, it is nevertheless incorrect; and Simpson's random guess is right. Fleay has, for some reason, entirely failed to take into account the children's companies; but during the years 1599 to 1601 there were two such companies in full activity — the Children of the Chapel and the Boys of Paul's; both performed at Court, the Chapel Children on January 6 and February 22, 1601, and the Paul's Boys on January 1, 1601 (Fleay's *Hist. of Stage*, p. 125).

From internal evidence we can be absolutely sure that the revised play, like the early one, was performed by children. We find in it not only the six songs of the old portion, but three new ones added by Marston (ii, 247—254; vi, 256—258, 288—296; the last two are in the court-ending of the play). We have not only the morris-dance of the old *Histriomastix*, but a newly added masque (iii, 278). We find on the stage at one time not only the eight women and five men of Act i, but, in the court-ending, at least ten female characters — twenty-three unless „doubling up“ was practised to the utmost possible extent. These facts preclude the possibility of a performance by adult actors.

The revised play, then, must have been acted by either the Chapel Children or the Paul's Boys — the only children's companies of the time. Since all Marston's plays written before 1603 — *Jack Drum*, *Antonio and Mellida*, *Antonio's Revenge*, *What You Will* — were presented by the Paul's Boys, we may confidently assert that *Histriomastix* was also presented by them.

This enables us actually to tell the very night on which this play was acted before the Queen; for in the last years of Elizabeth's reign the boys of Paul's played at Court only once — January 1, 1601.

It has generally been supposed, it is true, that the Paul's company was not released from the long inhibition placed upon it in 1590 until late in 1599, when it presented Antonio and Mellida. My proposition that this company acted *Histrionmastix* in August, 1599, necessitates a somewhat earlier date for the removal of the inhibition; but there is no evidence against me. The reopening was assigned to the last months of 1599, because that was the date of the first play known to have been acted by the company, and because in 1600, when *Jack Drum* was presented, the Paul's Boys were still new at the trade¹⁾. If, however, they began to act in August, 1599, they would still be new at the trade in 1600; further, we learn in the same connection that they had been criticized for playing „musty fopperies of antiquity“. What were those „fopperies“? Surely not Antonio and Mellida and Antonio's Revenge; yet those are the only plays previously known to have been acted by them at the time of the appearance of *Jack Drum*.

I am now ready to discuss the most important question relating to the Marstonian *Histrionmastix* — namely, who were Posthaste and the players, and who was Chrysogonus?

Simpson, without giving any reasons worth mention, answered the question thus: Posthaste is Shakspeare (Sch. of Sh. ii, pp. 8—9), because the line „That when he Shakes his furious Speare“ (ii, 273) refers to him. I suppose Simpson thought the players were the Chamberlain's, with whom Shakspeare was connected, although he does not express that opinion. Wood, assuming, as we have seen, that the whole play is by Marston, affirms that Posthaste is Shakspeare, and tries unsuccessfully to support his position by argument. I shall discuss some of his points later. Fleay, also wrongly assuming that Marston wrote the whole play, proceeds to identify the players and Posthaste (Chr. ii, 70—72). He thinks, we remember, that *Histrionmastix* belonged to Derby's men. He states, on what evidence I do not know, that by these men „another company had been ousted

¹⁾ „I saw the children of Paul's last night,
And, troth, they pleased me pretty, pretty well.
The apes in time will do it handsomely.“ *Jack Drum* v, 102—4.

and driven to travel" (Chr. ii, 70). The Chamberlain's, Admiral's, and Derby's men being the three regular companies, this ousted band would be the fourth band assailed in *Histriomastix*¹⁾. Fleay guesses that Beeston, Duke, Pallant, and Kempe, who left the Chamberlain's men in 1599, were the share-holders in it, and that Antony Monday was its poet, satirized as *Post-haste*²⁾.

To Fleay's theories with regard to the identity of the players, I object, first, that the play was not acted by Derby's men at all; secondly, that if it had been, Fleay has apparently no grounds whatever for his assertion that Derby's men drove out another company; thirdly, that even if such an unnamed company did exist, Fleay's only reason for putting Duke, Beeston, Pallant³⁾, and Kempe in such a company is, that he does not know what else they could be doing (*Hist. of Stage*, p. 138). For all we know, Duke, Beeston, and Pallant may have belonged to the mysterious Derby's company, which is, so far as I know, mentioned only on February 5, 1600/1, and of the personnel of which we know nothing. As for Kempe, however, we may be reasonably sure that he belonged to no company at all from 1599, when he left the Chamberlain's men, to 1601, when he returned to them⁴⁾. In February and March, 1599/1600, he was performing his famous dance to Norwich; in 1600 and 1601 he was abroad⁵⁾. Fourthly, I ob-

¹⁾ „The sum doth arise to three companies,
One, two, three, four, make we.“ *Players' Song*, ii, 249—50.

²⁾ Fleay connects Monday with these men simply because we do not know Monday's exact whereabouts from August, 1598, when he left Henslowe, to October, 1599, when he returned. We do, however, know from *The Case is Altered* that he was writing pageants for the City about the end of 1598. We know, too, that his translation of Gabelhoner's *Book of Physic* was printed at Dort in 1599. It seems very likely that Monday himself was at Dort at that time.

³⁾ Fleay has no apparent evidence that Pallant ever belonged to the Chamberlain's company.

⁴⁾ We learn from *ii Return from Parnassus* that he was a Chamberlain's man at the end of 1601.

⁵⁾ Halliwell (notes to *Shakespeare Society's* edition of *Coventry Plays*) cites Ms. Sloane, 392, fol. 401: „1601, September 2. Kemp, mimus quidam,

ject that Marston took the characterization of the players bodily from the old *Histriomastix*, adding absolutely nothing¹⁾ except the Players' Song in ii, 247—254²⁾. And lastly, that Fleay has wholly misunderstood and misapplied that song³⁾. In the fifth line of it, he has always read „Besides that we travel“ (see *History of Stage*, p. 138; Chr. ii, 70—72), making the last four lines refer to Posthaste's company, whereas in reality Posthaste's men expressly disclaim any connection with wandering and patron-shifting players. „We, Posthaste's men,“ they say, „now performing the play of Troilus and Cressida, are the fourth company of adult players in London. The other three, with which the audience is already acquainted, are the Chamberlain's, the Admiral's, and Derby's⁴⁾. The audience also knows that some of us players run about the country; but we, Posthaste's company, are here in London“⁵⁾. In the play as it stands we see the whole history of Posthaste's company, and it is always under the patronage of Sir Oliver Owlet. Its members are „townsmen all“ (i, 144), and never leave the city. „We are a full company“, they say, „and our credit with our master known“ (v, 75—76). Marston's additions are nowhere

qui peregrinationem quandam in Germaniam et Italiam instituerat, per multos errores, et infortunia sua, reversus; multa refert de Anthonio Sherly, equite aurato, quem Romae (legatum Persicum agentem) convenerat.“

¹⁾ The account of the pride of the players under the reign of Pride (iii, 218—243; 265—278) must have found a place in the old play as well, and the hit at their lust in iv, 174—179, besides being a suspicious passage, adds nothing to the characterization.

²⁾ „Some up and some down, there's players in the town;
You wot well who they be.
The sum doth arise to three companies;
One, two, three, four, make we.
Besides we that travel, with pumps full of gravel,
Made all of such running leather,
That once in a week new masters we seek,
And never can hold together.“

³⁾ So also Penniman (*War* 115).

⁴⁾ This company, though not legally recognized, had some sort of official protection; else it would not have been asked to act before the Queen.

⁵⁾ The nominative „we“ as object of the preposition is not at all surprising; „Besides us that travel“ would have been less natural to an Elizabethan.

inconsistent with the old play, except in replacing the *Prodigal Child* by *Troilus and Cressida*.

I have shown that the players in the old *Histriomastix* represented not one company, but the whole class; so Marston, in his revision, taking the characterization of them straight from the old play, likewise made them stand for the whole „quality“, but with a very different motive. The author of the old play reviled the actors as the causes of the overflowing misery of the land; Marston, in behalf of his „aery of little eyases“ used the same conceptions and generally the same words so to „berattle the common stages that many wearing rapiers“ should be „afraid of goosequills and dare scarce come thither“. (*Hamlet* ii, 2, 354—360).

The character of *Posthaste* is more individual, and may have been, even in the older play, personally satirical. Simpson thought the original character intended for Shakspeare; for proof that it was not so meant, see under „Shakspeare“. If the character refers to any particular person that person must be Antony Monday; see under „Monday“.

The Marstonian *Posthaste* is evidently a personal satire; for to the already well individualized character of the old play, Marston has added details that make a personal application inevitable. Simpson assumes that the later, like the earlier, *Posthaste* is Shakspeare. Wood, assuming that the whole play is by Marston, tries to support Simpson's hypothesis. For a discussion of the views of both scholars, see under „Shakspeare“. Fleay, also wrongly assuming that Marston wrote the whole play, identifies *Posthaste* with Antony Monday, which identification I believe to be correct; see under „Monday“. This identification is adopted by Penniman (*War* 43).

The *Chrysogonus* of the early play — the stoical professor of all the arts, the embodiment of all the encyclopaedic learning of the day (i, 68—107; 182—251; ii, 45—62; v, 244—267; vi, 89—138), is clearly an ideal character. The Marstonian *Chrysogonus*, however, the translator, satirist, epigrammatist, and high-priced dramatist, seems a sketch from life. Simpson thought that Marston intended that *Chrysogonus* should represent himself but inadvertently included in the portrait many charac-

teristics of Jonson. Fleay says Chrysogonus is a complimentary picture of Jonson (Chr. ii, 71). Penniman says that the character represents Jonson and may have been meant as a compliment (War 33 ff.).

Chrysogonus is surely not intended for Marston himself, for Marston never claimed to be a translator or an epigrammatist; nor is he ever represented by others as such. Chrysogonus, too, boldly arrogates to himself the position of universal judge and champion playwright, whereas Marston always addressed an audience with excessive humility¹). To Jonson, on the other hand, all the characteristics of Chrysogonus apply perfectly. The stock accusations against him were arrogance and self-conceit, and a too free use of satire, epigram, and translation. Jonson told Drummond that the beginning of his quarrels with Marston was that Marston represented him on the stage. I believe that he told the truth, and that Chrysogonus is the representation in question.

No quarrel can have existed when *Histriomastix* was produced; for the character of Chrysogonus is evidently intended as a compliment to Jonson. Marston was, until the great quarrel, a close friend of Jonson. Hence it is entirely natural that he should have shared Jonson's dislike toward Monday and put him on the stage as *Posthaste*; hence, too, in depicting his ideal of a literary man, Marston consciously or unconsciously drew a fairly correct picture of Jonson. To one that knows the supersensitiveness and irascibility of Jonson's disposition, it will seem no less natural that he received this well-intentioned attempt to represent his virtues upon the stage as a personal affront. Drummond was right when he said of him: He is „jealous of every word and action of those about him; he is passionately kind and angry; interpreteth best sayings and deeds often to the worst.“ (Conversations, Sh. Soc., 1842, p. 40.) Moreover, it is possible that, in this case, Jonson represented the name Chrysogonus, which, however noble in origin, was best known to him as the name of the villain denounced

¹) See: S. of V., To those that seem judicial perusers, near end; Ant. and Mel., Prol.; W. Y. W., close; Dutch Courtezan, Prol.

by Cicero in his defence of Roscius ¹⁾. Nevertheless, the quarrel did not spring into full life for some months.

HENSLOWE'S PLAY. On September 28, 1599, Henslowe lent Marston forty shillings „in earnest of“ an unnamed play; there is no other allusion to the transaction. With regard to this entry we must adopt one of three hypotheses: We may suppose, (1) that Marston actually wrote a play for Henslowe, that Henslowe neglected to record all the payments except the first, and that all traces of the play disappeared. This is not only unlikely on the face of it, but is made doubly so by the facts that Marston was very busy at the time in question ²⁾, and that all Marston's extant plays were certainly written for child-actors.

(2) That Marston broke his contract and refunded the money to Henslowe, who forgot to cancel the charge. This hypothesis is conceivable.

(3) Much more likely is the third hypothesis — that Marston is the „other Jentellman“ mentioned by Henslowe as collaborating with Jonson, Dekker, and Chettle on the Scot's Tragedy. The Marston entry immediately follows those of the Scot's Tragedy. I quote all five entries entire:

„Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 3 of septmbr 1599, to lend unto Thomas Deckers, Bengemen Johnson, hary Chettell, and other Jentellman, in earneste of a playe calld Robart the second, Kinge of Scottes tragedie, the some of xxxx s.⁶

„Lent unto Samwell Rowley and Robart shawe, the 15 of septmbr 1599, to lend in earneste of a Boocke called the Scottes tragedi, unto Thomas Dickers and Harey chettell, the some of xx s.⁶

„Lent hary chettell, the 16 of septmbr 1599, in earneste of a Boocke called the scottes tragedie, the some of x s.⁶

„Lent unto Wm Borne, the 27 of Septmbr 1599, to lend unto Bengemen Johnson, in earneste of a Boocke called the scottes tragedie, the some of xx s.⁶

„Lent unto Wm Borne, the 28 of Septembr 1599, to lend unto

¹⁾ This was suggested to me by Prof. G. L. Kittredge.

²⁾ He wrote: *Pygmalion and Satires*, 1598; *Scourge of Villany*, 1598; one new *Satire*, 1599; *Histriomastix* and *Antonio and Mellida*, 1599; *Antonio's Revenge* and *Jack Drum*, 1600.

Mr. Mastone

Mr maxton, the new poete, in earneste of a Boocke called the some of
xxxx s.¹).

The sum total for the four payments for the Scot's Tragedy is £ 4 10 s.; but Jonson and Dekker had just received £ 8 for Page of Plymouth, and in 1599 the regular price for a play was from £ 6 to £ 8. Further, whereas Dekker, Chettle, and Jonson all had a share in the three supplementary payments, the „other Jentellman“ appears only in the first entry. Can Marston be the „other Jentellman“? If so, we have, as we should expect, supplementary payments made to each of the four authors of the play; the sum total paid for the play would be £ 6 10 s., a reasonable amount, and exactly what Dekker and Chettle received for their „Stepmother's Tragedy“, in various payments between July and October, 1599. The word „earnest“ used in the Marston entry need not trouble us; it is quite in accord with Henslowe's habitual carelessness²). The name of the „other Jentellman“ was evidently not known to Henslowe on September 3; on September 28 he misspells Marston, the name being clearly unfamiliar to him. We find no other mention of Marston in Henslowe's Diary. The quarrel between Jonson and Marston had not at this date developed sufficiently to make coöperation between them improbable; for *Histriomastix* can hardly have been performed until work upon the Scot's Tragedy was well begun; and, as we have seen, the character of Chrysogonus was meant as a compliment to Jonson. The quarrel did not become violent until after the acting of *Every Man out of his Humour*; for *Antonio and Mellida* and *Antonio's Revenge*, acted shortly before *Every Man out of his Humour*, contain no satiric hits at Jonson, and *Every Man out of his Humour* itself has no direct or hard hits at Marston. The only serious obstacle to the identification of Marston with the

¹) The interlineation „Mr Mastone“ is in a different hand, and was doubtless inserted to correct the spelling „maxton“. Of course John Marston is meant. Collier's Henslowe, p. 156.

²) E. g., the final payments on *Patient Grissel*, December 28 and 29, 1599, are both entered as „in earneste of Patient Gresell“ (Henslowe's Diary, p. 162).

fourth author of the Scot's Tragedy is the fact that Henslowe does not name any play in connection with Marston. Perhaps the omission would be explained by a glance at the manuscript, which, unfortunately, I have not seen.

ANTONIO AND MELLIDA AND ANTONIO'S REVENGE. The two parts of Antonio and Mellida were entered on the Stationers' Register October 24, 1601. They were performed by the Paul's Boys, as we learn from the title-page.

The date of the first part is 1599; for the mention of „Anno Domini 1599“ and of „Aetatis suae 24“ in v, 1, 6—12, is clearly Marston's way of announcing that he was twenty-four years old when the play was presented in 1599. We know from the records of Brasenose College that Marston was really born in 1575. The play was probably presented rather late in the year, for, as we have seen, when Jack Drum was acted in 1600 the Paul's Boys had been comparatively recently relieved from their long inhibition.

The only passage in the play itself at all important for my purpose is the Painter-scene, v, 1, 1—42. This scene, which contains the allusions which fix the date of the play, certainly bears some relation to the painter-scene in the Spanish Tragedy (iii, 13, Manly's edition, Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama, Boston, 1897). E. Köppel (Quellen-studien etc., Erlangen, 1895) says that the Marstonian painter-scene is a parody on the painter-scene in the Spanish Tragedy. Fleay and Penniman (Chr. ii, 75; War 98) very carelessly assert that the Marstonian scene alludes to Cynthia's Revels v, 2, where „Jonson, early in 1600, played the painter and limned to the life Anaides, Hedon, and Amorphus“. (Chr. ii, 75.) As we have seen, however, Antonio and Mellida, with this scene in it, was acted in 1599; hence any reference in it to Cynthia's Revels, February or March, 1600/1, is out of the question.

The painter-scene in the Spanish Tragedy was first printed in the edition of 1602, which makes on the title-page especial mention of it. It was certainly one of Jonson's additions. But, from Henslowe's Diary (pp. 201, 223) we learn that Jonson was paid for his additions £ 2 on September 25, 1601, and another considerable sum (probably £ 2) on June 24, 1602.

The total number of lines added in the edition of 1602, including the painter-scene of over a hundred verses, is only 316. Surely, Henslowe's two large payments covered all these. Since Henslowe paid very promptly, the painter-scene cannot have been written much before September, 1601. Hence Marston's painter-scene, written in 1599, is not an imitation of Jonson's painter-scene in the Spanish Tragedy. Strange as the assertion seems, the imitation must be the other way; in these same additions, Jonson, as I have already noted, certainly imitated a passage in Hamlet. Penniman agrees with me in this matter (War 101). This effectively disposes of Fleay's statement (Chr. i, 365) that the painter in Antonio and Mellida is „undoubtedly Jonson“.

There is doubtless no allusion to Jonson in the following words of the Epilogue: „Gentlemen, though I remain an armed Epilogue, I stand not as a peremptory challenger of desert, either for him that composed the comedy, or for us that acted it; but a most submissive suppliant for both.“ (Bullen's ed., i, p. 93).

When the first part of Antonio and Mellida was presented, the second (Antonio's Revenge) was not written; for in the Induction (148—151) to the first play, Marston promised to draw more fully the characters of Galeatzo and Feliche in the second part. In the second part, however, Galeatzo is little more than a name, and Feliche appears only as a corpse. The second part was performed in the winter, as we learn from the Prologue:

„The rawish dank of clumsy winter ramps
The fluent summer's vein; and drizzling sleet
Chilleth the wan bleak cheek of the numb'd earth.“ Prol. 1—3.

Doubtless both parts were upon the stage before the appearance of Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour, February or March, 1599/1600. After that play, with its sarcasms upon Marston's vocabulary, appeared, Marston was not slow to take revenge in Jack Drum's Entertainment.

JACK DRUM'S ENTERTAINMENT. Jack Drum was entered anonymously on the Stationers' Register on September 8, 1600. It was acted, the title-page says, by the children of Paul's.

Every critic since Simpson has agreed that Marston was the author of the play. The marks of his workmanship are so numerous and so clear as to leave no doubt of the fact. Jack Drum is characterized by the same overstraining of situation, the same heaping up of surprises, the same mixture of the beautiful with the hopelessly ridiculous, that we find in Antonio and Mellida. The following words and expressions ridiculed as Marston's in the Poetaster occur here: „chilblained“, „clumsy“ (ii, 136); „glibbery“ (i, 127); „crack the sinews of my patience“ (iii, 238); „bespawl“ (i, 302); „barmy froth“ (i, 35; „barmy“ v, 108). I quote a few eminently Marstonian passages, of which I could increase the number at will:

- I. „Nor be feared,
Since who is feared, still fears to be so feared.“ i, 120.
Cf. „T'other feared
Yet fearedè fears, and fears most to be loved.“ Ant. and Mel. iii, 2, 52.
Apparently both are imitated from the Spanish Tragedy:
„That would be feared, yet fear to be beloved.“
Act iii, p. 135, Old Plays, 1825.
- II. „Let who will climb Ambition's glibbery rounds
And lean upon the vulgar's rotten love,
I'll not corrival him.“ i, 127—9.
Cf. „O, you that slide upon the glibbery ice
Of vulgar favour, view Andrugio.“ Ant. and Mel. iv, 1, 70—1.
- III. „O, you shall have a thousand pound a year!
B'ar Lady, that's a bumming sound.“ iii, 180—1.
Cf. „Hath raked together some four thousand pound
To make his smug girl bear a bumming sound
In a young merchant's ear.“ S. of V. iv, 75—7.
- IV. „Wini. The greatest lady in the land affects him,
Nay, dotes upon him, ay, and lies with him.
Cam. What lady, good sweet Winifred, what lady, say?
Faith, there be some good parts about the fool
Which I perceive not, yet another may.“
Thereupon she incontinently falls in love with him. i, 249 ff.
Cf. „I only loved him because I thought I only did not love him.
He vowed infinite beauties doted on him.“ Fawn iv, 1, 82.
- V. „These rotten posts
That are but gilt with outward garnishment.“ iv, 303.
Cf. „These big-bulkt painted posts that senseless stand
To have their backs pasted with dignity.“ Hist. iv, 146.
- VI. „Fly from the pestilence

Of my contagious grief; it will infect thee, boy,
Murder thy youth, and poison thy life's joy." iii, 232.

Cf. „Page. I must be acquainted with you, sir.

Ant. Wherefore? Art thou infect with misery,

Seared with the anguish of calamity?" Ant. and Mel. iv, 1, 153.

- VII. „Let clumsy judgments, chilblained gouty wits,
Bung up their chief content within the hoops
Of a stuffed dry-fat." ii, 136—8.

- VIII. „Out, Syren! Peace, screech-owl! Hence, chattering pie!
The black-beakt night-crow, or the howling dog
Shall be more gracious than thy squeaking voice.
Go sing to Master John. I shall be blunt
If thou depart not. Hence, go mourn and die;
I am the scourge of light inconstancy." iv, 290—5.

- IX. „The glooming morn with shining arms hath chased
The silver ensign of the grim-cheeked night,
And forced the sacred troops of sparkling stars
Into their private tents." ii, 93—6.

X. There are in the play eight references to scourging — two being literal (ii, 244; iii, 239; 411; iv, 200; 295; 297; v, 116; 206); compare the Scourge of Villany. As the style is homogeneous throughout, there can be no doubt that Marston wrote Jack Drum.

„I'll to Ireland" — as a soldier — (iii, 13), „He will waste more substance than Ireland soldiers" (i, 161), and „Discourse as confident of peace with Spain" (i, 37), point to 1599 or 1600 as the date of production, when the Irish rebellion and the difficulties with Spain were at their height. „I had rather that Kemp's Morrice were their chat" (i, 45) proves the play subsequent to February 11 — March 11, 1599/1600, when the famous dance to Norwich took place. „What! 'tis women's year!" — that is, leap year — (i, 166) shows that the performance was in 1600. Fleay thinks that i, 52, „'Tis Whitsuntide, and we must frolic it" indicates that the play was performed in May; but I have very little confidence in such indications of particular holidays.

With regard to the characters of the play, Simpson says (Sch. of Sh. ii, p. 129) that „young Brabant is Marston himself". Fleay (Chr. ii, 74) agrees with this view, and Penniman doubtfully concurs (War 72). Nevertheless, Young Brabant was

never meant for Marston; for Marston is surely meant by „the new poet Mellidus“ (iv, 38) — so named from Antonio and Mellida. / It is very improbable that two distinct representations of one man — Mellidus-Marston and Brabant-Marston — should occur in one play. Moreover, Young Brabant figures only as a very crazy innamorato in love with a most unworthy woman, Camelia (i, 227—238; 282—299; ii, 247—282; iii, 161—172; 198—202; v, 1—31). But Marston, both before and after the date of this play, was always girding at lovers. He directed the whole of Satire 8 of the Scourge of Villany at them, and in *What You Will* ii, 1, 223—4 he says:

„He is a turf that will be slave to man;
But he's a beast that dreads his mistress' fan.“

In *S. of V.* vi, 17 ff. and *W. Y. W.* i, 1, 22, he recurs to the same theme. Of course, then, he did not deliberately make himself ridiculous as Young Brabant.

„Old Brabant“, Simpson says (*Sch. of Sh.* ii, 129), „who was first of all intended for a witless patron of wit, a rich gull who spends his wealth in giving suppers to poets, insensibly becomes transformed to the great critic and scourge of the times. . . . This phase of Brabant senior is clearly meant for Jonson; in his character of a rich gull, and in the punishment which overtakes him in the end of the play, he could hardly be meant for Jonson, even in those days of reckless misstatement.“ Fleay says: „That the elder Brabant can be meant for Jonson is, I think, disproved by Jonson himself, who says in his *Conversations*: ‚He had many quarrels with Marston; . . . the beginning of them were that Marston represented him in the stage in his youth given to venery; . . . a man made his own wife to court him, whom he enjoyed two years ere he knew of it, and one day finding them by chance, was passingly delighted with it.‘ This astounding story is identical with that of *Monsieur John fo' de King* in this play, and this French reprobate is, therefore, strange as it may seem, Jonson.“ (*Chr.* ii, 74; the same theory is advanced in *Shakspeariana* i, 105—6). Penniman, as usual, doubtfully agrees with Fleay (*War* 71—73). But the stories are not identical; aside from the difference between two years (*Conversations*) and three

hours (J. D.), Brabant is certainly not, like Jonson's hero, „passingly delighted“. As I shall soon show, the character of Brabant the „censurer“ corresponds in every particular with that of Jonson as depicted by his enemies, and must inevitably refer to him. We cannot well have two characters in the same play referring to the same person, and when we turn to that of John fo' de King, we find that in not a single point does it correspond with any of the known satiric portraits of Jonson. John fo' de King is a Frenchman, unable to speak English well, a professional teacher of French (iii, 22; v, 315), bald (iii, 20), and with but one thought — how to get the enjoyment of a „vench“. If Marston had wished to satirize Jonson's profligacy, surely we should have some hint of it in Marston's known portraits of Jonson; but no such hint exists. Fleay has simply been led astray by the false punctuation of the passage in Drummond's Conversations, upon which I have already commented; and Penniman has not been willing to break away from the ideas of his master. Penniman himself acknowledges that „to us the character of Monsieur John fo' de King does not seem to resemble Jonson.“ (War 72).

Brabant Senior is described as:

„The Prince of fools; unequalled idiot;
He that makes costly suppers to try wits,
And will not stick to spend some twenty pound
To grope a gull; that same perpetual grin,
That leads his corky jests, to make them sink
Into the ears of his deriders, with his own applause.“ i, 320—5.

We see him in his humour of jesting and making fun of the gulls Puff, Ellis, and John fo' de King in i, 353—428. He practises „compliment“ with Puff in iii, 69—126. He criticizes various literary men of the time¹⁾ and likewise the Children

¹⁾ „Bra. Jr. Brother, how like you of our modern wits?

How like you the new poet Mellidus?

Bra. Sr. A slight bubbling spirit, a cork, a husk.

Planet. How like you Musus' fashion in his carriage?

Bra. Sr. O filthily, he is as blunt as Paul's.

Bra. Jr. What think you of the lines of Decius?

Writes he not a good cordial sappy style?

Bra. Sr. A surrein'd jaded wit, but 'a rubs on.

of Paul's¹⁾; and is in return scored as one of

„these bombast wits,
That are puffed up with arrogant conceit
Of their own worth; as if omnipotence
Had hoisted them to such unequalled height
That they surveyed our spirits with an eye
Only create to censure from above.“ iv, 316—321.

He introduces the „goatish Frenchman“ John fo' de King to his wife, pretending that she is a courtesan (iv, 207—230). He supposes that she will repulse the Frenchman wittily, and that he shall get a first-rate joke (v, 288—298); on the contrary, she resists scarcely at all, and he is deservedly cuckolded. In the end of the play, he is condemned in the following words to wear the horn:

„Come, here's thy cap of maintenance, the coronet
Of cuckolds. Nay, you shall wear it, or wear
My rapier in your guts; by heaven! Why,
Dost thou not well deserve to be thus us'd?
Why shouldst thou take felicity to gull
Good honest souls? And in thy arrogance
And glorious ostentation of thy wit,
Think God infused all perfection
Into thy soul alone, and made the rest
For thee to laugh at? Now, you Censurer,
Be the ridiculous subject of our mirth.
Why, fool, the power of creation
Is still omnipotent, and there's no man that breathes
So valiant, learned, witty, or so wise,

Pla. Brabant, thou art like a pair of balance(s),
Thou weighest all saving thyself.
Bra. Sr. Good faith, troth is, they are all apes and gulls,
Vile imitating spirits, dry heathy turfs.“ iv, 37—52.

Mellidus is Marston, as I have already pointed out. Musus certainly has nothing to do with Musaens, and hence is not necessarily applied, as Simpson supposed, to Chapman, who „finished sad Musaens' gracious song“, or to Daniel, called Musaens by Drayton in *Endymion* and *Phoebe*. Decius is probably, as Simpson said without explanation and as Penniman has shown (War 74—5), Drayton.

¹⁾

„They produce
Such musty fopperies of antiquity,
And do not suit the humorous Age's back
With clothes in fashion.“ v, 111—4.

But it can equal him out of the mould
Wherein the first was formed. Then leave proud scorn,
And, honest self-made cuckold, wear the horn!"

To this Brabant Senior responds:

"Wear the horn? Ay, spite of all your teeth,
I'll wear this crown, and triumph in this horn."

We see, then, that there are two more or less distinct phases of the elder Brabant's character. First, he is a critic of authors and of the Paul's Boys, „puft up with arrogant conceit of his own worth“. In this aspect he is, as Simpson says, clearly meant for Jonson (compare the *Apol. Dial.* and *Satiromastix* *passim*). Secondly, he delights in making stupid jokes at the expense of gulls, and at last gets cuckolded as the result of one of those jokes. This second phase of his character is closely linked to the first by Planet's speech in crowning him with the horn, just quoted. The horns themselves are as appropriate to the one phase as to the other; for they were the mark not only of a cuckold, but also of a satirist, the latter signification coming perhaps from the very common pun on *Satire* and *Satyr*, or perhaps from Horace's „*Fenum habet in cornu*“ (*Sat. i, 4, 34*). So in *Satiromastix* (p. 257) Horace and Bubo are „pulled in by th' horns bound both like Satyres“. It is with reference to this use that Brabant says that he will „triumph in this horn“. Brabant's delight in making sport of the humours of fools is exactly what we should expect in Jonson, the man who delighted in writing „a stabbing satire or an epigram“, the man who „pens and purges humours and diseases“; and in *Satiromastix* (p. 201) Horace-Jonson is expressly called a „gull-groper“. In *Satiromastix* (p. 262), moreover, Horace-Jonson is made to swear expressly that he will not „exchange courtesies and compliments with gallants in the lords' rooms“. Furthermore, in *What You Will*, Lampatho, who, as I shall soon show, is surely Jonson, is represented like Brabant as a lover of his own jests and a user of exaggerated „compliment“. I conclude, then, that not only the critic Brabant, but also (less exactly) the joking and „compliment“-using Brabant, is intended to represent Jonson. The story of his cuckolding is of course a gratuitous piece of

abuse, perhaps suggested by the horns appropriate to the satirist.

Fleay's desperate suggestion that Brabant Senior is meant for Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Exeter (Chr. ii, 74), — a suggestion adopted by Penniman (War 74) — is unsupported by an atom of evidence, and is entirely impossible.

The remaining characters are for my purpose unimportant. John Ellis is a fool with a propensity to the strangest similes; of course he is not, as Fleay asserts (Chr. ii, 74) „a gross caricature of John Lyly“, but is brought in merely to ridicule Euphuism. Pasquil, though nominally the hero of the play, has nothing distinctive about his character. His name carries an allusion to Nash, who wrote books under the name Pasquil, and who seems to have died early in 1600. Note especially the words „the ghost of Pasquil!“ (ii, 233) and „sweet Ghost“ (iii, 280). Nicholas Breton, for a similar reason, employed Pasquil's name in the titles of the following books in the same year: Pasquil's Madcappe, entered S. R. Macrh 20, 1599/1600; Pasquil's Foolescappe, entered May 10, 1600; Pasquil's Mistresse, 1600; Pasquil's Passe and Passeth Not, entered May 29, 1600. But the Pasquil of Jack Drum does not, as Fleay imagines, refer to Breton. Timothy Tweedle is a silly old piper, who was formerly a fiddler (i, 1—16). There is not, as Fleay supposes (Chr. ii, 74), any hint of satire on Antony Munday. Christopher Flawn, Mammon's page, is exactly like every other Elizabethan page in a play, witty and characterless. Fleay's identification of him with the actor Christopher Beeston (Chr. ii, 74) is mere nonsense. Sir Edward Fortune may mean Edward Alleyn, as Fleay asserts. Alleyn was in 1600 engaged in building the Fortune play-house. Fortune is pictured as lavish in expenditure and fond of revelry (i, 73—138), very loyal to the government (i, 19—50), and generous to his children (i, 180—198), who are of marriageable age. Alleyn was then only thirty-four years old, and had no children; but the rest of the description fits tolerably. Planet is one of Marston's favourite characters — a critic on the stage. Feliche (Ant. and Mel.) and Pandulpho (Ant.'s Rev.) had preceded him, and Quadratus, Malevole, and the Fawn were to follow. The

rest of the characters are by no possibility personally satirical.

WHAT YOU WILL. What You Will was entered on the Stationers' Register August 6, 1607, and published in the same year, without mention of the actors who played it.

That it was acted by children, however, is evident; for in the last scene alone we find five pages, four women, and ten men distinguished, besides attendants and „as many pages as you can“. The appearance of so many pages and women is a sure indication of a children's play. Moreover, three whole scenes are devoted to pages and schoolboys. There are also five songs (pp. 335, 336, 355, 361, 387) and three dances (pp. 341, 355, 419). Since this play was, as we shall see, in part written against Jonson, it cannot have been played by the Chapel Children, who brought out Cynthia's Revels and the Poetaster. It must, then, have belonged to their rivals and Marston's old favourites, the Boys of Paul's.

I have no doubt that What You Will was produced in 1601 as a reply to Jonson's Cynthia's Revels, acted in February or March, 1600/1. Aronstein (Eng. stud. xx, pp. 381—2) advances this view, practically without discussion; Fleay, also without evidence, puts the play just after the Poetaster (Chr. ii, 76); Penniman, as usual, follows Fleay (War 137); Bullen (Marston's Works i, xlv) thinks it may be early; all other critics place it late in Marston's career.

That the date of What You Will is early is proved by the style, which indicates a date previous to that of the Malcontent. The play contains many phrases highly characteristic of Marston's early work, such as „feeble, palsied, lamer joints“ (Induction 47), „a fusty cask, devote to mouldy customs of hoary eld“ (ii, 1, 50), „the muddy spawn of slimy newts“ (ii, 1, 188), „frost-bit, numbed with ill-strained snibs“ (ii, 1, 221), „a rout of crazed fortunes, whose cracked states Gape to be soldered up“ (i, 1, 168).

We find, too, long passages quite in Marston's early style. Such are the following:

„What imperfect-born,
What short-lived meteor, what cold-hearted snow

Would melt in dolour, cloud his muddied eyes,
 Sink down his jaws, if that some juiceless husk,
 Some boundless ignorance, should on sudden shoot
 His gross-knobb'd burbolt with — That's not so good;
 Mew, blirt, ha, ha, light chaffy stuff!
 Why, gentle spirits, what loose-waving vane,
 What anything, would thus be screwed about
 With each slight touch of odd phantasmatas?
 No, let the feeble, palsied, lamer joints
 Lean on opinion's crutches. —“ Ind. 37—48.
 „Yon gleam is day; darkness, sleep, and fear,
 Dreams, and the ugly visions of the night,
 Are beat to hell by the bright palm of light;
 Now roams the swain, and whistles up the moru;
 Deep silence breaks; all things start up with light,
 Only my heart, that endless night and day
 Lies bed-rid, crippled by coy Lucea.
 The wanton spring lies dallying with the earth,
 And pours fresh blood in her decayed veins;
 Look how the new-sapp'd branches are in child
 With tender infants! how the sun draws out,
 And shapes their moisture into thousand forms
 Of sprouting buds! all things that show or breathe
 Are now instaur'd, saving my wretched breast,
 That is eternally congeal'd with ice
 Of frozed despair.“ i, 1, 23—41.
 „Is this my favour? Am I crown'd with scorn?
 Then thus I manumit my slaved condition.
 Celia, but hear me execrate thy love.
 By Heaven, that once was conscious of my love,
 By all that is, that knows my all was thine,
 I will pursue with detestation,
 Thwart with out-stretched vehemence of hate
 Thy wished Hymen! I will craze thy brain,
 But I'll dissever all thy hopes unite;
 What rage so violent as love turned spite!“ i, 1, 111—120.
 „Qua. Away, idolater! why, you Don Kynsader!¹⁾
 Thou canker-eaten rusty cur! thou snaffle
 To freer spirits!
 Thinkst thou a libertine, an ungyved breast,
 Scorns not the shackles of thy envious clogs?
 You will traduce us into public scorn?
 Lam. By this hand I will.

¹⁾ I. e. „you satirist“, as I have previously explained.

Qua. A foutra for thy hand, thy heart, thy brain!
 Thy hate, thy malice, envy, grinning spite!
 Shall a free-born, that holds antipathy —
 Lam. Antipathy!

Qua. Ay, antipathy, a native hate
 Unto the curse of man, hare-pated servitude,
 Quake at the frowns of a ragg'd satirist —
 A scrubbing railer, whose coarse, hardened fortune,
 Grating his hide, galling his starved ribs,
 Sits howling at desert's more battle fate —
 Who out of dungeon of his black despairs,
 Scowls at the fortune of the fairer merit." ii, 1, 134—151.
 „I could pour speech till thou criedst ho! but troth
 I dread a glut; and, I confess, much love
 To freer gentry, whose pert agile spirits
 Is too much frost-bit, numb'd with ill-strained snibs,
 Hath tenter-reached my speech. By Brutus' blood,
 He is a turf that will be slave to man;
 But he's a beast that dreads his mistress' fan." ii, 1, 218—224.

What You Will abounds in parallels to Marston's early works:

- I. „To nuzzle 'twixt the breasts
 Of her lulled husband." iii, 2, 58.

Cf. „And nuzzled 'twixt the breasts of happiness."

Ant's. Rev. Prol. 16.

- II. „Skip light moriscoes in our frolic blood." v, 1, 339.

Cf. „Skip light lavoltas in your full-sapped veins."

Ant's. Rev. v, 2, 22.

III. Italian is used in iv, 1, 242, as very frequently in Antonio and Mellida.

IV. The action of Antonio and Mellida takes place just after a terrific battle in the Venetian Gulf. The action of What You Will is just three months after a „black fight in the Venetian Gulf" (i, 1, 206).

V. Two passages in What You Will (ii, 1, 223—4; i, 1, 22) are devoted to girding at lovers. So the whole character of Young Brabant in Jack Drum, the whole of Scourge of Villany viii, and S. of V. vi, 17 ff.

- VI. „Thinkst thou a libertine, an ungyved breast,
 Scorns not the shackles of thy envious clogs?" ii, 1, 137—8.
 Cf. (You) „think you carry just Rhamnusia's whip
 To lash the patient; go, get you clothes,
 Our free-born blood such apprehension loathes." Hist. ii, 65—8.

- VII. „I should remember to forget myself." iii, 1, 4.

Cf. „How soon they can remember to forget." Hist. iii, 270.

„But O remember to forget thyself." Ant. & Mel. iv, 1, 119.

VIII. „Pity and Piety are long since dead.“ i, 1, 49.

Cf. „Pity and Piety are both exiled.“ Hist. v, 143.

IX. „Seven useful springs

Did I deflower in quotations

Of crossed opinions 'bout the soul of man.“ ii, 2, 151—3.

Cf. „Some children's sport, deflowring of chaste time.“

S. of V. viii, 208.

X. „Ruin to chance, and all that strive to stand

Like swoln Colossus on her tottering base!“ i, 1, 50—1.

Cf. „These huge Colossi that roll up and down,

And fill up all the seat of man with froth

Of outward semblance.“ Hist. iv, 147—9.

What You Will followed Every Man out of his Humour and Cynthia's Revels; for certain speeches contained in those plays are parodied in it. In the Induction, Atticus, Doricus, and Philomuse discuss the play exactly as Cordatus, Asper, and Mitis discuss Every Man out of his Humour. A long passage is clearly an answer to Asper's speech. In What You Will, Philomuse says of the author:

„Believe it, Doricus, his spirit
Is higher blooded than to quake and pant
At the report of Scoff's artillery.
Shall he be crest-fall'n if some looser brain,
In flux of wit, uncivilly befilth
His slight composures? Shall his bosom faint,
If drunken censure belch out sour breath
From hatred's surfeit on his labour's front?
Nay, say some half a dozen rancorous breasts
Should plant themselves on purpose to discharge
Imposthum'd malice on his latest scene,
Shall his resolve be struck through with the blirt
Of a goose-breath?“ Induction 25—37.

After several lines more of the same sort, Philomuse starts to defy all detraction, whereupon Doricus interrupts him thus:

„Nay, nay, nay.
Heaven's my hope, I cannot smooth this strain. . . .
Now out upon 't, I wonder what tight brain
Wrung in this custom to maintain contempt
'Gainst common censure, to give stiff counter-bluffs,
To crack rude scorn even on the very face
Of better audience. 'Slight, is't not odious? . . .
Music and poetry were first approved

By common sense; and that which pleased most,
 Held most allowed pass; know, rules of art
 Were shaped to pleasure, not pleasure to your rules.
 Think you, if that his scenes took stamp in mint
 Of three or four deem'd most judicious,
 It must enforce the world to current them,
 That you must spit defiance on dislike?
 Now, as I love the light, were I to pass
 Through public verdict, I should fear my form,
 Lest ought I offer'd were unsquar'd or warp'd.
 The more we know, the more we want;
 What Bayard bolder than the ignorant?
 Believe me, Philomuse, i' faith, thou must,
 The best, best seal of wit is wit's distrust." Induction 49—75.

The whole is clearly a reply to the following words of Asper-Jonson in the Induction to Every Man out of his Humour:

„But with an armed and resolved hand,
 I'll strip the ragged follies of the time,
 Naked, as at their birth . . .
 . . . and with a whip of steel
 Print wounding lashes in their iron ribs.
 I fear no mood stamped in a private brow,
 When I am pleased t' unmask a public vice.
 Gracious and kind spectators, you are welcome;
 Apollo and the Muses feast your eyes
 With graceful objects, and may our Minerva
 Answer your hopes, unto their largest strain!
 Yet here mistake me not, judicious friends,
 I do not this, to beg your patience,
 Or servilely to fawn on your applause,
 Like some dry brain, despairing in his merit.
 Let me be censured by the austere brow
 Where I want wit or judgment; tax me freely;
 Let envious censors, with their broadest eyes,
 Look through and through me, I pursue no favour,
 Only vouchsafe me your attentions,
 And I will give you music worth your ears.
 Do not I know the time's condition?
 Yes, Mitis, and their souls, and who they be,
 That either will or can except 'gainst me.
 None, but a sort of fools, so sick in taste,
 That they condemn all physic of the mind,
 And, like galled camels, kick at every touch."

No doubt Marston also had in mind the famous epilogue to *Cynthia's Revels*:

„I'll only speak what I have heard him [the author] say;
By God, 'tis good; and if you like 't, you may.“

In *What You Will*, too, we have at least two distinct reminiscences of *Cynthia's Revels*. In ii, 1, *Quadratus* says:

„Should discreet *Mastigophorus*,
Or the dear spirit acute *Canaidus*
(That *Aretine*, that most of me beloved,
Who in the rich esteem I prize his soul
I term myself); should these once menace me,
Or curb my humours with well-governed check,
I should with most industrious regard,
Observe, abstain, and curb my skipping lightness;
But when an arrogant, odd, impudent,
A blushless forehead, only out of sense
Of his own wants, bawls in malignant questing
At others' means of waving gallantry, —
Pight foutra!“ ii, 1, 169—181.

This is certainly an imitation of the following speech of *Crites* in *Cyn. Rev.* iii, 2, p. 213:

„If good *Chrestus*,
Euthus, or *Phronimus*, had spoke the words,
They would have moved me, and I should have called
My thoughts and actions to a strict account
Upon the hearing; but when I remember
'Tis *Hedon* and *Anaides*, alas, then
I think but what they are, and am not stirred.“

A large part of the character of *Quadratus*, indeed, is an answer to Jonson's attacks upon „fantasticness“ in *Cynthia's Revels*. The following passage is illustrative. *Quadratus* says:

„A man can . . . scarce eat good meat,
Anchovies, caviare, but he's satired
And termed fantastical by the muddy spawn
Of slimy newts.“ ii, 1, 186—9.

In *Cyn. Rev.* ii, 1, p. 200, *Mercury* says in ridiculing *Asotus*:

„He doth learn to make strange sauces, to eat anchovies, maccaroni, bovoli, fagioli, and caviare, because he loves them.“

The following words confirm my earlier limit of date:
„Now may thy breath ne'er smell sweet as long as thy lungs

can pant, for breaking my speech, thou Muscovite, thou stinking perfumer!" v, 1, 264—6. The word Muscovite, though doubtless containing a pun on „musk“, is probably an allusion to the Russian embassy which came to London on September 18, 1600, and whose arrival caused much comment (Stow's *Annales*).

What You Will must have preceded the *Poetaster*, acted about June, 1601, because it contains no allusion to that play.¹ This evidence, though negative, is conclusive; for it is quite inconceivable that Marston should have entirely passed over the insults of the *Poetaster*, and attacked the comparatively harmless *Cynthia's Revels*.²

The play was apparently performed in the spring; *Jacomo* says:

„The wanton spring lies dallying with the earth,
And pours fresh blood in her decayèd veins.“ i, 1, 33—4.

„I may go starve till midsummer quarter“ (v, 1, 181) supports the idea that the play was first given in the spring. I date it, then, about March or April, 1601³).

‘If, then, *What You Will* preceded the *Poetaster*, why did not Jonson allude to it there? His satire loses nearly all its point, if Marston had already presented a play comparatively free from *Crispinus*’ barbarous diction⁴). What, too, inspired Marston so radically to alter his style in the few months between the production of *Jack Drum* and *What You Will*? I suppose that *What You Will* actually was attacked in the *Poetaster*, and that in style it was not originally much different from *Jack Drum*! For of the thirty-one words and expressions vomited by *Crispinus* in the *Poetaster*, I can find only fourteen in Marston’s works⁵). Penniman’s statement that twenty have

¹) The words „this summer“ (iii, 3, 51) were evidently inserted in the revision which, I shall soon show, was certainly made by Marston at a later date.

²) Of the words vomited by *Crispinus*, I can find only one, „conscious“, — in *What You Will*.

³) barmy froth, *S. of V.* in *Lect.* 8; *To Perusers*; vi, 2; *J. D.* i, 35; cf. v, 108. chilblained, *J. D.* ii, 136.

clumsy, *J. D.* ii, 136; *Ant's Rev.* Prol. 1.

clutched, *Ant's. Rev.* i, 1, 3; iii, 1, 46; v, 1, 3.

been found must be incorrect. It is altogether unlikely that Jonson invented more than half, especially since the fourteen that I find are very characteristic of Marston, occurring no less than thirty-two times. Most of the remaining seventeen words must have belonged in *What You Will* or in some lost work. But it is unlikely that any of Marston's dramatic works, except a probable contribution to the *Scot's Tragedy*, are lost; for he can hardly have written anything before his earliest extant play — *Histrionastix*, August, 1599 — because on September 28, 1599, he is called „the new [dramatic] poet“ by Henslowe, and in 1600 he calls himself so in *Jack Drum*; and between 1599 and 1601 we know that he wrote a part of *Histrionastix*, one *Satire*, a part of the *Scot's Tragedy* (probably), *Antonio and Mellida*, *Antonio's Revenge*, *Jack Drum*, and *What You Will* — certainly enough to fill his time. Nor were *Crispinus'* words found by Jonson in any non-extant poems of Marston; for no such poems were ever published; and even if they existed in manuscript¹⁾, Jonson would not have chosen for ridicule upon the public stage works which could have been seen by only a small portion of his audience. I believe, therefore, that most of the remaining seventeen words vomited by *Crispinus* belonged in *What You Will*; and that Marston afterwards revised the play, eliminating these words (except „conscious“ in i, 1, 114) and partially assimilating the style to his later work.

The very fact that the play was published without the usual formula „as it hath been sundry times acted“ would raise a strong suspicion of revision; by the confusion of names

conscious, *S. of V.* viii, 95; *W. Y. W.* i, 1, 114.

damp, *S. of V.* vii, 183.

glibbery, *J. D.* i, 127; *A. & M.* i, 1, 109; ii, 1, 7; iv, 1, 70.

incubus, *Ant's Rev.* i, 1, 91; iv, 2, 21.

magnificate, *Sat.* ii, 66; *S. of V. Proem*, Bk. ii; iii, 192.

puffy, *Pygm. Author in Praise*, 23; *Sat.* ii, 139; *S. of V. in Lect.* 42; iv, 55.

quaking custard, *S. of V.* ii, 4.

snarling gusts, *Ant's. Rev. Prol.* 4.

snotteries, *S. of V.* ii, 71.

strenuous, *A. & M. Ind.* 36; *Ant's. Rev.* v, 1, 3.

¹⁾ There is no evidence that they did.

in the play itself such revision can be demonstrated. In the original version, the name of Celia, Albano's wife, was Lucea; and in two places the old name remains (i, 1, 29; ii, 1, 260). In all other places we find the name Celia (i, 1, 41, 82, 83, 98, 113, 124, 207, 210, 224; ii, 1, 264; ii, 2, 117; iii, 1, 42; iii, 2, 18, 117, 180, 181; iv, 1, 273—280 (10 times); v, 1, 304—7 (3 times), 313). In the play as it stands a waiting woman appears in iv, 1, 2, with the name Lucia. There is, too, much confusion in the name of Celia's brother Adrian or Andrea. The name Andrea occurs in i, 1, 122; iii, 2, 111, 113; in the stage-direction iii, 1, p. 367; as And. prefixed to speeches, i, 1, 126, 137, 162, 203—260 (13 times); iii, 1, 3, 49. Adrian occurs i, 1, 258; iii, 2, 83, 190, 258, 265; in stage-directions iii, 2, p. 379, p. 380; v, 1, p. 412; as Adri. prefixed to speeches, iii, 2, 251—270 (3 times); iv, 1, 288, 295; v, 1, 317, 324. Modern editors have adopted Andrea as the reading; but since, as all the evidence of style and the occurrence of the names Celia, Lucea, and Lucia show, the last acts of the play have been more carefully revised than the first, the reading Adrian, which is always found in Acts iv and v, and commonly in Act iii, should be adopted as Marston's later preference. The names of the pages, too, show evidence of revision; for Battus and Nathaniel, whom we find in Act ii, scene 2, are replaced in Acts iii to v by Trip and Doit.

I have shown that *What You Will* was produced in the spring of 1601. That Marston did not discard his early fantastic style until the composition of *The Malcontent* in the latter part of 1603, and that consequently *What You Will*, which in its extant form is in style far removed from *Antonio and Mellida* and *Jack Drum*, must have been revised, is proved by distinct allusions by Davies of Hereford and Marston himself. Davies says, in an epigram addressed to Marston in the *Scourge of Folly*:

„Thy *Malcontent* or *Malcontentedness*
 Hath made thee change thy Muse, as some do guess;
 If time misspent made her a malcontent,
 Thou needst not then her timely change repent.
 The end will show it; meanwhile do but please
 With virtuous pains as erst thou didst with ease,

Thou shalt be praised and kept from want and woe;
So blest are crosses that do bless us so."

Marston himself says in the Epilogue to the *Malcontent*:

"Then let not too severe an eye peruse
The slighter brakes of our reformed Muse."

What You Will, then, was first produced by the Children of Paul's about March or April, 1601, and was ridiculed in the *Poetaster*; but after some years it was rewritten by Marston. In this revision, Marston eliminated all but one of the words laughed at by Jonson, and radically altered the last two acts. That Marston did not remodel his other early works is easily explained; for the *Satires*, *Antonio and Mellida*, *Antonio's Revenge*, and *Jack Drum* were already printed or in press; and *Histriomastix* was published anonymously long after his retirement.

The main plot of *What You Will* bears a slight likeness to *Plantus' Amphitruo*. According to P. A. Daniel, quoted in Bullen's *Marston* i, lxxviii, it also resembles *I Morti Vivi*, by Sforza D'Oddi, 1576, which is in part derived from the Greek romance of *Clitophon and Leucippe*. Köppel has apparently not seen this reference. The characters of *Lampatho*, *Simplicius*, and *Quadratus*, however, have no connection with the main story, and are original with Marston.

Penniman identifies *Lampatho* and *Quadratus* with Marston and Jonson respectively (*War* 138—143), because he has been misled by the use of the words "you Don Kynsader" meaning "you satirist". This use is strictly paralleled in the opening line of *Marmion's Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, where *Fidelio* calls *Snarl* "my dear Democritus". Penniman's identification would give a strange situation; for in *What You Will* Marston ridicules *Lampatho* and sympathizes with *Quadratus*; that is, according to Penniman, ridicules himself and sympathizes with his bitter enemy Jonson. The identification is, as I shall show immediately, flatly contradicted by all the facts.

Lampatho Doria is a poet, who reads his own verses, commends them highly, and begs a compliment from *Quadratus* (iv, 1, 156 ff.); *Quadratus* plunges them in a wine-cup (iv, 1, 167). *Lampatho's* foolish satellite *Simplicius Faber* can always

be depended upon to admire him. Lampatho is poor, and thankfully accepts money from Quadratus (ii, 1, 228 ff.; iv, 1, 120 ff.). He is very ready to protest love for others, as for Laverdure (ii, 1, 65 ff.), and for Quadratus (ii, 1, 234 ff.), but immediately slanders and threatens them (ii, 1, 98 ff.). He threatens to „traduce“ Quadratus „into public scorn“ (ii, 1, 139), to „rhyme him dead“ (ii, 1, 121), and to revenge himself upon him in a play (iv, 1, 171—2). Of him Quadratus says: „A tassel that hangs at my purse-strings. He dogs me, and I give him scraps, and pay for his ordinary, feed him; he liquors himself in the juice of my bounty, and when he hath sucked up strength of spirit, he squeezeth it in my own face; when I have refined and sharpened his wits with good food, he cuts my fingers, and breaks jests upon me. I bear them, and beat him; but by this light, the dull-eyed thinks he does well, does very well; and but that he and I are of two faiths — I fill my belly and he feeds his brain — I could find it in my heart to hug him.“ iv, 1, 120 ff. Lampatho rails at the whole world (ii, 2, 120 to 210; iii, 2, 133 ff.). Thus far, every detail corresponds with the characterization of Dekker's Horace-Jonson; this alone is amply sufficient to prove that Lampatho was meant for Jonson¹⁾. We have, however, still further evidence. Lampatho satirizes men for „eating good meat, anchovies, caviare“ (ii, 1, 185 ff.); Jonson so satirizes men: „He doth learn to make strange sauces, to eat anchovies . . . and caviare, because he loves them.“ (Cyn. Rev. ii, 1, p. 200). Lampatho declares that:

„Dreadless of racks, strappadoes, or the sword,
Maugre informer and sly intelligence,
I'll stand as confident as Hercules,
And, with a frightless resolution,
Rip up and lance our time's impieties.“ (iii, 2, 145—9).

So Asper-Jonson says:

„But, with an armed and resolved hand,
I'll strip the ragged follies of the time
Naked, as at their birth . . .
. . . and with a whip of steel

¹⁾ It is possible that in „he and I are of two faiths“ we have an allusion to Jonson's Roman Catholicism.

Print wounding lashes in their iron ribs.
 I fear no mood stamped in a private brow,
 When I am pleased t' unmask a public vice."

(E. M. out H. Ind. pp. 117—8).

Lampatho's satiric tendencies are the result of envy¹⁾. Dekker ascribes Jonson's satire to scorn and pride; but Jonson himself (Poet. v, 1, p. 349) feels obliged to deny all envy, probably in reply to this very charge of Marston. Lampatho sometimes uses absurd „compliment“, as when he greets Laverdure in ii, 1, 38 ff. Horace-Jonson in Satiromastix is compelled to swear not to use „compliment“ in the lords' rooms after the play. Lampatho is always in black (ii, 1, 30; iv, 1, 119); so are Crites-Jonson and Horace-Jonson. Lampatho is called „tabour-faced“ (ii, 1, 163); Jonson's lack of a beard is ridiculed in Satiromastix. The character of Lampatho Doria is, then, beyond all reasonable doubt, meant for Jonson.

In the end of the play, however, Marston, imitating Jonson's method in Every Man out of his Humour, causes the conversion of Lampatho. The satiric scholar, who has hitherto scarcely known how to address a lady (iv, 1, 133 ff.), suddenly renounces rug-gowns and all that goes with them (iv, 1, 179 ff.), and is instructed by Quadratus as to the proper method of courting (iv, 1, 214); almost immediately he falls in love (iv, 1, 266 ff.). He has even learned to be humble in estimating his own writings (iv, 1, 370 ff.).

Quadratus is an epicure and fat (iv, 1, 83—7; v, 1, 64—8, 216); this alone is enough to prove that Quadratus is not, as Penniman says, Jonson, the „lean, hollow-cheeked scrag“. He is the apostle of „fantasticness“, which he defends elaborately and fantastically enough (ii, 1, 125 ff.; ii, 1, 183 ff.). He is „a fine courtier, flatters admirable, kisses, ‚fair madam‘, smells surpassing sweet“ (iv, 1, 37). He makes a violent attack upon Lampatho for satirizing the courtiers (ii, 1, 131 ff.). All this seems an answer, on behalf of all gentlemen, to Jonson's

¹⁾ „Envy-starved cur“ ii, 1, 131.
 „A ragged satirist, a scrubbing railer,
 Who out of dungeon of his black despairs,
 Scowls at the fortune of the fairer merit.“ ii, 1, 150—1.

satires upon courtiers in *Every Man out of his Humour* and *Cynthia's Revels*, and particularly to the character of Hedon.

Quadratus also feeds Lampatho and lends money to him (ii, 1, 230—245; iv, 1, 120—130), scores him for his duplicity and treachery (ii, 1, 111—120), scorns his threats (ii, 1, 125 to 167), and plunges his verses in wine (iv, 1, 165 ff.). This is a direct attack upon Jonson, as we learn from the comparison of Marston's Lampatho with Dekker's Horace-Jonson.

Finally, Quadratus jeers at Jacomo's love (i, 1, 1—79) and at Lampatho's „compliment“ (ii, 1, 44—84). He expresses the views of a pessimist in i, 1, 44—58. His humour is „to berhyme us still; Never so slightly pleased, but out they fly.“ But, he says, „they are mine own, no gleaned poetry; my fashion's known“ (ii, 1, 267—270). He prepares to present the tragedy of Cato Uticensis (v, 1, 242 ff.). This seems an expression of some of Marston's own inclinations and feelings; for in *Jack Drum* and elsewhere Marston jeered at lovers and „compliment“; in the *Satires* he was sufficiently pessimistic; both Hedon-Marston and Crispinus-Marston are represented by Jonson as always ready to sing original songs, and Marston certainly cherished the design of writing a tragedy.

No hard and fast lines separate these three phases in the character of Quadratus; they are inextricably interwoven. Quadratus, then, does not represent Marston, although at times he utters Marston's ideas; for many elements of his character are contradictory to Marston's traits. He is simply a specimen of Marston's well-known „critics on the stage“, at once fulfilling the functions of the chorus and acting an essential part in the play.

Simplicius Faber (i. e., Foolish Smith) is a fool, who never spoke word „of his own creating“ (ii, 2, 142—3), and who is miserably cozened by the pages (iii, 3, 100—124; v, 1, 69—192). He is „a bastard, mongrel soul“, „nought but admiration and applause of yon Lampatho Doria“ (ii, 1, 48—51; ii, 1, 29—35; ii, 1, 134), all of whose nonsense he profoundly admires (ii, 1, 90 to 108). Since Faber's traits of character are exactly reproduced by Dekker in *Satiromastix* in the character of Asinius Bubo, the foolish satellite of Horace-Jonson, both portraits

are probably from life. For further discussion, see under „Dekker“.

The remaining characters in *What You Will* are, for our purpose, unimportant. Laverdure is a wandering French knight, a suitor for the hand of Celia, and a disciple of fantasticalness. Giacomo is madly in love with Celia. Lorenzo Celso, the Duke of Venice, is remarkable only for his carelessness with regard to his duties and his reputation. Albano, the husband of Celia, supposed to be dead, is an ordinary rich merchant. Celia and her sister Meletza correspond to Mellida and Rossaline in *Antonio and Mellida*, to Beatrice and Crispinella in the Dutch Courtesan, and to Shakspeare's Hero and Beatrice in *Much Ado*. None of these can possibly be personally satirical in total effect or in detail.

THE MALCONTENT. Unless Marston had a share in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, which cannot be proved, he wrote no more before the *Malcontent*, the first fruits of his „reformed Muse“. Before the publication of this play (entered July 5, 1604), he had become completely reconciled with Jonson, and dedicated the play to him in flattering terms: „Beniamino Ionsonio, Poetae elegantissimo, gravissimo, amico suo, candido et cordato, Iohannes Marston, musarum alumnus, asperam hanc suam Thaliā D(at) D(edicatque).“ In the epilogue he alludes in the following terms to Jonson's forthcoming comedy *Volpone*:

„Then till another's happier Muse appears,
Till his Thalia feast your learned ears,
To whose desertful lamps pleased Fates impart
Art above nature, judgment above art,
Receive this piece, which hope nor fear yet daunteth;
He that knows most knows most how much he wanteth.“

This epilogue was certainly spoken on the stage¹⁾, and apparently when the play was first presented. If so, the reconciliation with Jonson must have taken place before the date of the first presentation.

In determining the date of the play, Fleay goes far astray when he says (Chr. ii, 78) that „the horn growing in the

¹⁾ „Your modest silence, full of heedful stillness,
Makes me thus speak.“ Epi. 1—2.

woman's forehead twelve years since", i, 3, 20, fixes the date as 1600—1601. Very likely the reference is, as Gilchrist long ago suggested, to Margaret Griffith, whose case is described in a pamphlet entered on the Stationer's Register in October, 1588. But the passage, unfortunately for Fleay, occurs in one of the scenes added by Webster in 1604, and hence can have no value in fixing the date¹⁾. Two unimpeachable reminiscences of Hamlet, 1601—2²⁾, and an ill-natured allusion to the Scots who came in with James I³⁾ forbid us to date the play earlier than the latter half of 1603. Its entry on the Stationers' Register, July 5, 1604, gives us the later limit for its date.

THE DUTCH COURTEZAN. The Dutch Courtezan,

¹⁾ The *Malcontent* was originally acted at Blackfriars, by children (Ind. 45); and we know that the Chapel Children occupied that theatre from 1597 to 1604, when they took the name of the Children of the Queen's Revels. These children having stolen the Spanish Tragedy from the King's men, the latter in 1604 took the *Malcontent* in retaliation (Ind. 82—6). To fit the play for the public stage, many songs were replaced by an induction and new scenes (Ind. 88—91), written by John Webster. The title of the revised version, to be sure, reads: „The *Malcontent*. Augmented by Marston. With the additions played by the King's Majesty's servants. Written by John Webster.“ The original play, however, was certainly by Marston; and he would never have been employed to write scenes for a play stolen from his own actors, the children. No one acquainted with Elizabethan printing would hesitate to alter the punctuation, thus: „The *Malcontent* augmented. By Marston. With the additions played by the King's Majesty's servants, written by John Webster.“ Although the additions sometimes rise into magnificent declamation and a smoothness of versification unattained by Marston in 1603, they contain all the parts of the play most offensive to modern taste, and greatly impede the action. Fleay's idea that they are restored to the play from Marston's first version is contradicted by the mention of Webster on the title-page and by the evidence of style. The first quarto edition gives the text without Webster's additions, the second, with them.

²⁾ „Illo, ho, ho, ho! art there, old truepenny?“ iii, 1, 250. „In body how delicate, in soul how witty, in discourse how pregnant, in life how wary, in favours how judicious, in day how sociable, and in night how —“ i, 1, 350—3. The corresponding passage in *Hamlet* first appears in the quarto of 1604.

³⁾ „Bian. And is not Signior St. Andrew a gallant fellow now?

Maq. By my maidenhead, la, honour and he agree as well together as a satin suit and woollen stockings.“ v, 3, 24—7.

entered June 26, 1605, and probably produced in 1604, contains no allusions to contemporary authors.

PARASITASTER, OR THE FAWN. The Fawn was entered March 12, 1605/6. It was originally acted by the Chapel Children, but afterwards (doubtless when the Chapel Boys lost the royal patronage in 1605) transferred to the Paul's Boys. Probably it was first produced in 1604.

Aronstein says (Eng. Stud. xx, 385) that „Another has vowed to get the consumption of the lungs, or to leave to posterity the true orthography and pronunciation of laughing“ (iv, 1, 220—2) is a satiric reference to Jonson's Volpone (i, 1, p. 14), acted 1605, where „laughter“ rhymes with „slaughter“. In my opinion, on the contrary, the reference is to a dispute among grammarians as to the pronunciation of the word. Henry Vaughan, for example (Early Death, p. 52, Aldine edition, London, 1891), rhymes the same words — „laughter“ and „slaughter“. In Eastward Ho! v, 5, 78—9, „daughter“ rhymes with „after“. In the university play Narcissus, 1602, „so be laught on“ rhymes with „gnotti seanton“ (ed. Margaret L. Lee, London, David Nutt, 1893, p. 10). In Harington's Metamorphosis of Ajax, „draught“ (privy) rhymes with „taught“ (ed. S. W. Singer, Chiswick, Whittingham, 1814, p. 33). In Hall's Satires ii, 4, „brought“ rhymes with „poisonous hemlock draught“. In Drummond of Hawthornden's third sonnet, „thoughts“ rhymes with „draughts“ (ed. Turnbull, London, Reeves and Turner, 1890, p. 4).

Early in 1605, Marston, Jonson, and Chapman worked together on Eastward Ho! and were together imprisoned for it¹). In the same year, Marston contributed commendatory verses to Jonson's Sejanus.

¹) It is apparently to this play and Volpone that the 1606 epilogue to the anonymous play Mucedorus refers:

„Envy. From my foul study will I hoist a wretch,
A lean and hungry meagre cannibal,
Whose jaws swell to his eyes with chawing malice,
And him I'll make a poet.
This scrambling raven with his needy beard
Will I whet on to write a comedy,

After this, the quarrel seems to have started up again mildly; for in the Address to the General Reader, prefixed to *Sophonisba*, printed 1606, Marston distinctly scoffs at *Sejanus*, printed 1605, saying: „To transcribe authors, quote authorities, and translate Latin prose orations into English blank verse, hath, in this subject, been the least aim of my studies“; and his talk about the „factions malice and studied detractions of some few that tread in the same path with me, „for loving whom“ I once only loved myself“ (To the Equal Reader, prefixed to the *Fawn* in 1606) must at once suggest Jonson.

SUMMARY. Marston, then, made no allusion to Jonson in his *Satires* and *Scourge of Villany*. In *Histriomastix*, August, 1599, he consciously or unconsciously made *Chrysogonus* a favourable portrait of Jonson. In *Antonio and Mellida* and *Antonio's Revenge* he made no allusion to Jonson, and he probably collaborated with him on the *Scot's Tragedy* in September, 1599. In *Jack Drum*, 1600, he satirized him as *Brabant Senior*. In *What You Will*, March or April, 1601, he attacked him as *Lampatho*. Then came the *Poetaster*; and Marston, stunned by the weight of the blow, wrote no more until the end of 1603, when the *Malcontent* appeared, dedicated to his dear friend Jonson. Amicable relations lasted until 1606, when they were once more replaced by coldness, if not positive enmity.

MARSTONS RELATIONS WITH OTHER MEN. Of Marston's relations with other men we know little. His literary duel with Hall, waged in 1598 and 1599 in Marston's *Satires* and *Scourge of Villany* and in Hall's *Satires*, is well known. Marston was a close friend of Dekker; for in the quarrel-plays

Wherein shall be compos'd dark sentences,
Pleasing to factious brains.
And every other where place me a jest,
Whose high abuse shall more torment than blows.“

This is clearly a hit at Jonson and his reflections on Scotch dignitaries and probably on the king himself. A few lines later, the disgrace of the Chapel Children consequent upon their performance of *Eastward Ho!* is distinctly alluded to. Fleay has noted all this (*Chr. ii*, 50—51).

they are frequently coupled¹⁾. Marston apparently contributed verses to Chapman's *Homer*, brought out about 1616:

„Eruditorum Poetarum huius Aevi, facile Principi,
Duo. Georgio Chapman; Homero (velit nolit Invidia) Redivivo,
I(ohannes) M(arston) Tessellam hanc *Χαρισ[τ]ήριον* D(at) D(edicatque).
Ille simul Musas, et Homerum scripserit ipsum,
Qui scribit Nomen (Magne Poeta) tuum.“

The verses are engraved on the page bearing Chapman's portrait. No one seems to have noticed the initials.

THOMAS DEKKER.

Until the middle of 1601, the quarrel had in the main been fought between Jonson and Marston; then Dekker became a principal combatant. This man, one of the most interesting and shadowy figures connected with the Elizabethan drama, was born in London about 1567 (Fleay) or 1570 (Bullen), and died about 1632 (Fleay) or 1641 (Bullen). The first definite mention of him is in Henslowe's Diary, January 8, 1597/8. Between that date and 1602, Henslowe bought of him no less than nine plays which he seems to have written alone; during the same period, he wrote twenty-one plays in conjunction with other authors — Drayton, Wilson, Chettle, Jonson, Haughton, Day, Monday and Hathaway. In 1598, he published a poem called *Canaan's Calamity*. His later life was spent in pouring forth a marvellous number of plays and pamphlets. He seems to have been wretchedly poor; for in February, 1597/8, he was in the Counter, and from 1613 to 1616 in the King's Bench, doubtless for debt.

No play of Dekker except *Satiromastix* contains a hint of the quarrel. He had been collaborating with Jonson in *Page of Plymouth*, August-September, 1599, and the *Scot's Tragedy*, September, 1599. Jonson had attacked him as *Anaides*, the humble friend of *Hedon-Marston*, in *Cynthia's Revels*, Feb-

¹⁾ He did not, however, as Bullen supposes (*Marston's Works*, i, xxxv), write in conjunction with him „a play which had a Moor for its leading character“. A careful reading of the passage in *Satiromastix* from which the notion is derived (p. 212) will show that Fannius-Dekker alone is said to have written the play in question.

ruary or March, 1600/1. Dekker was then, if we may trust Jonson's words in the *Poetaster*, hired by the Chamberlain's men to bring in Jonson in a play; he did not, however, undertake his task until after the appearance of the *Poetaster*.

SATIROMASTIX. *Satiromastix* was entered upon the Stationers' Register November 11, 1601, and printed in 1602. Although Jonson had represented Demetrius-Dekker as already engaged in writing a play against him, there is no indication that the personally satiric portions of *Satiromastix* were commenced until after the appearance of the *Poetaster*; for every portion of Dekker's play is filled with hits at and reminiscences of Jonson's great satiric drama. Dekker evidently employed less than fifteen weeks upon the play; for in it he ridicules Jonson for his slowness in requiring that length of time to produce the *Poetaster*. If we may judge from his usual rapidity of work, he may have made the play ready for presentation within a month or two of the appearance of the *Poetaster*. I date *Satiromastix*, then, about August or September, 1601.

The play contains three distinct plots; first, the story of Celestine, Terrill, and the king, William Rufus; second, the story of the relations of Prickshaft, Vaughan, and the Widow Minever; and third, the attack upon Horace-Jonson. I have no doubt that, at the appearance of the *Poetaster*, Dekker had on hand a half-finished tragedy, with a comic minor plot, and that to this he attached as best he could the scenes written against Jonson.

The Celestine-Terrill story (Scenes i, iii, 2nd part, vi, x, xi, 1st part)¹⁾ has absolutely no connection with the Horace-plot except that the names Crispinus and Demetrius are applied to two mute courtiers, and that, after the Celestine-story is ended, the King is made judge over Horace²⁾. It is related to the Vaughan-plot a little more closely, in that Vaughan and

¹⁾ Although the play is not divided into scenes in the editions, I have, for convenience, divided it as follows: Sc. i, pp. 185—191; ii, pp. 191—203; iii, pp. 203—206 and 206—211; iv, pp. 211—213; v, pp. 213—222; vi, pp. 222—225; vii, pp. 225—232; viii, pp. 232—238; ix, pp. 238—240 and 240 to 246; x, pp. 246—252; xi, pp. 252—255 and 256—264.

²⁾ In i, p. 190, we have an apparent slight connection, for we read:

his crew sometimes appear on the stage with the characters of the Celestine-story. The Horace-plot (Sc. ii, iv, v, last part, vii, last part, viii, ix, last part, xi, last part) is very clumsily attached to the Vaughan-plot.

With the exception of four intrusive lines on p. 251¹⁾, the

„Dear Blunt, at our return from church take pains
To step to Horace for our nuptial songs.“

The passage, however, is an interpolation, for the scene properly closes with the words:

„So, so; come, mistress bride, take you your place;
The old men first, and then the bachelors,
Maids with the bride, widows and wives together;
The priest's at church, 'tis time that we march thither.“

(P. 190, printed as prose).

Then follow eight lines of wretched verse and prose, including the words to Blunt already quoted, and a weak closing couplet:

„Ter. Dear Blunt, at our return from church take pains
To step to Horace for our nuptial songs;
Now, father, when you please.

Quin. Agreed, set on;

Come, good Sir Vaughan, must we lead the way?

Vau. Peter, you go too fast for Mistress Pride;

So, gingerly, gingerly; I muse why Sir Adam Prickshaft
sticks so short behind.

Quin. He follows close; not too fast; hold up, knaves;

Thus we lead youth to church, they us to graves.“

(Printed as prose).

„'Tis a quaint strain“ (p. 209), Demetrius' single speech in a Celestine scene, is of course insignificant.

¹⁾ Celestine, having drunk supposed poison administered to her by her father in order to save her chastity from the king's lust, has taken an affecting leave of her father and her husband, dying with the following words upon her lips:

„Dear father, bless

Me now and ever; dearer man, farewell,

I jointly take my leave of thee and life;

Go, tell the king thou hast a constant wife.“

Then follows:

„Ter. I had a constant wife, I'll tell the king;
Until the king — what, dost thou smile? art thou
A father?

Quin. Yea, smiles on my cheeks arise,
To see how sweetly a true virgin dies.“

Celestine-Terrill plot is, up to the middle of p. 255, tragic and very well worked out, and we have actually a hint of the coming murder of the king (p. 225).

In the last scene, Terrill and Quintilian, entering the hall in a mask, present to the King the dead body of Celestine. Terrill, himself supposing that his bride is really dead, scathingly denounces the lust of the King. Then, of a sudden, Celestine awakes. From that moment, all the heroic disappears from the play. Terrill weakly tries to rant a little. The King, who hitherto has at least been consistent in his lust, degenerates instantly into a fool, and surrenders her to Terrill in two absurd couplets. Quintilian accounts for all as follows:

„’Twas I that ministered to her chaste blood
A true somniferous potion, which did steal
Her thoughts to sleep, and flattered her with death.
I called it a quick poisoned drug, to try
The bridegroom’s love, and the bride’s constancy.“

No one at all conversant with Dekker’s great literary power can think him capable of deliberately destroying the effect of an excellent tragic plot. Moreover, the story of the murder of William Rufus by Wat Terrill was so well known that a comic ending to the story is of necessity a violent tour de force. Dekker recognizes the fact, and apologizes thus:

„My liege, to wed a comical event
To presupposed tragic argument,
Vouchsafe to exercise your eyes, and see
A humourous dreadful poet take degree.“ (p. 256).

Dekker could have had no possible motive for placing Horace in the court of William Rufus, except that, when the Poetaster appeared, he had on hand an unfinished tragedy the scene of which was laid there; that motive is sufficient.

We can be fairly sure that if the tragedy had been completed, its contents would have been as follows: Act i, the

The last four lines are wretched. The absurdity of Quintilian’s „smiles“, as contrasted with the genuine dignity of the scene as a whole, casts discredit upon them. The suspicion that they are interpolated is strengthened by Quintilian’s distinct threat at the life of the king:

„And the hot king shall have enough, too“ (p. 225).

rejoicings at the approaching nuptials of Terrill and Celestine. Act ii, the King's lustful desires, and Terrill's rash promise. Act iii, the death of Celestine. Act iv, the presentation of the veiled corpse of Celestine to the King, and Terrill's denunciation of him. Act v, the death of the King at the hands of Terrill. With this major plot would have been combined the comic minor plot of the wooing of the Widow Minever by the two rivals Adam Prickshaft and the Welshman Sir Vaughan ap Rees. In *Patient Grissel*, a play on which Dekker worked in the winter of 1599/1600, we find in the minor plot Gwenthyran wooed by Emulo and the Welshman Sir Owen in very similar fashion. To this half-finished tragedy with a comic minor plot, Dekker hastily attached the scenes aimed at Horace-Jonson and his satellite Bubo, connecting them with the main play only by clumsy dove-tailings with the Vaughan-story.

Satiromastix shows no trace of Marston's style, and was published in the name of Dekker alone. That Marston was at Dekker's elbow during the composition, however, is indicated by the Marstonian vigour and dash of the Horace-plot, by the close correspondence of the characters of Horace and Asinius to those of Lampatho and Faber in *What You Will*, by Tucca's words „I and my Poetasters will untruss him again“, and by Jonson's expressions about „the Untrussers“ in the *Apologetical Dialogue* at the end of the *Poetaster*.

Horace-Jonson in *Satiromastix* is a poet who, though he has only one suit to his back, is yet called *Asper*, *Criticus*, *Quintus Horatius Flaccus* (p. 200). He finds great difficulty in composing (pp. 191, 202), yet takes great pride in pretending facility (pp. 192, 200, 212). He commends his *Epithalamium*, which he reads upon the stage, his *Acrostics*, his *Odes*, and his *Palinode* in *Cynthia's Revels*, and demands that his foolish satellite Bubo shall do the same (pp. 192, 193, 194). He is poor (p. 245), and accepts aid thankfully (pp. 194, 201—3, 216, 242); he is very ready to profess the deepest love for others, as for *Crispinus-Marston* and *Demetrius-Dekker* and *Tucca* (pp. 196, 199, 201, 234), but as soon as their backs are turned, slanders them and writes bitter epigrams upon them (pp. 195, 203, 212, 238). He threatens to bring in *Tucca* in a play

(p. 195). He satirizes everybody (pp. 234, 256, 257), because of pride and scorn (p. 259). He is full of satirism, arrogance, self-love, detraction, and insolence (p. 259). In spite of his boasts of valour (p. 234), he is extremely pusillanimous when confronted by those whom he has injured. „'Tis thy fashion“, Tucca says to him, „to flirt ink in every man's face, and then to crawl into his bosom and damn thyself to wipe 't off again; yet to give out abroad, that 'he was glad to comè to composition with me“ (p. 235). He denies that he writes personal satire (pp. 197—8); yet all know at whom he strikes (p. 198). The victims are his best friends (pp. 197—8). He is called a „gull-groper“ (p. 201).

Of his past life, we learn that he has been a bricklayer (pp. 199, 234, 243, etc.), at which trade we know that Jonson worked. There is an allusion to Jonson's experience as a soldier on p. 215: „he has a very bad face for a soldier.“ He has killed a player (p. 234), begged out of jail (p. 200) by reading a neck-verse (pp. 194, 241) (i. e., escaped hanging by pleading the benefit of clergy)¹⁾. Thus far the statements of Dekker correspond exactly with the known fact; of the following, we have no independent confirmation; most of them, however, are likely enough. He should „have been hanged, but for one of these part-takers, . . . players, I mean“ (p. 244). Horace has „played Zulziman“ (play unknown) at Paris Garden. Tucca also says: „Thou putst up a supplication to be a poor journeyman player, and hadst been still so, but that thou couldst not set a good face upon 't; thou hast forgot how thou ambledst (in leather pīch) by a play-wagon, in the highway, and tookst mad Jeronimo's part, to get service among the mimics; and when the Stager-ites banished thee into the Isle of Dogs, thou turnedst ban-dog, (villanous guy) and ever since bitest“ (p. 229). On p. 202, there is another allusion to Jonson's running „mad for Horatio“, i. e., playing Hieronimo in the Spanish Tragedy²⁾.

¹⁾ „It is noteworthy that none of the literary antagonists who strove to slur his (Jonson's) character in satire and drama described him as a murderer.“ Thus Symonds, Ben Jonson, p. 19.

²⁾ Gifford's assertion (repeated by Symonds, Ben Jonson, p. 8) that Jonson could never have played Jeronimo because in the play there are numerous

The epithet „puppet-teacher“ applied to Horace on p. 243 is, I think, merely a general term of abuse, somewhat similar in use to „pot-poet“.

The orations of Horace and Crispinus in favour of hair and baldness respectively (Sc. vii, and Sc. ix) doubtless formed a part of the Vaughan-plot of the original tragedy, having been there delivered by other characters; for in neither address is there any allusion to the events of the quarrel, or any imitation of the style of Jonson or Marston; nor, although Crispinus is of course represented in the best colours in *Satiromastix*, is his speech a whit better than Horace's. The dispute centers about Vaughan's intention to ridicule his bald-pated rival Sir Adam Prickshaft, and Prickshaft's retaliation. The whole matter was doubtless suggested by Richard Harvey's *Defence of Short Hair*, and Nash's hits at that defence in *Have With You to Saffron Walden* and *Summer's Last Will*. The dispute dates back to Dio Chrysostom's *Praise of Hair* and Synesius' *Encomium Calvitii*; the latter work was Englished by Abraham Fleming in 1579.

Horace is twice punished in *Satiromastix*. The first time, he is tossed in a blanket, because he has (1) assailed the law, (2) called all courtiers arrogant, impudent, and ignorant, (3) libelled the citizens and their wives, and (4) arraigned two poets at Blackfriars (pp. 243—4). The second time, he is crowned with nettles, and, in imitation of the end of the *Poetaster*, made to swear: (1) not to say he will hang himself if any one else can write equally good plays; (2) not to bombast out his plays with jests from the *Temple's Revels*; (3) not to make faces at the actors who are playing his pieces; (4) not to go upon the stage after his plays, and use „compliment“ with the gallants, to draw attention to himself; (5) not to magnify the commendations of his invited friends into the

references to Jeronimo's diminutive stature, is of no value. For those references occur only in the first part of *Hieronimo*, or the Spanish Comedy, and were doubtless alterations made when the children revived the play about 1600. The original version is lost. The reference in *Satiromastix*, moreover, is clearly to the Spanish Tragedy, in which there is no hint that *Hieronimo* was small in size.

tribute of kings; (6) not to make scald jests upon the knighthood of his patrons; (7) when his plays are misliked at court, not to say that he is glad he wrote above the comprehension of the courtiers; (8) not to fling about play-speeches and epigrams at a banquet, to get rid of paying the reckoning.

The actor who played Horace in *Satiromastix* was got up to impersonate Jonson; hence we can reconstruct from the play a fairly complete picture (from the adverse point of view) of Jonson as he was. He dressed in *perpetuana* (p. 245). His beard was very scanty (pp. 200, 260). He had a terrible mouth (p. 260). His face „looks for all the world like a rotten russet apple, when 'tis bruised“ (p. 241); it is punched „full of eylet-holes, like the cover of a warming-pan“ (p. 260). He is a „lean, hollow-cheeked scrag“ (p. 260). All this accords exactly with what we know of Jonson from other sources. Dekker also says: „He sounds it i' the nose, and talks and rants for all the world like the poor fellow under Ludgate.“ (p. 241).

Asinius Bubo¹⁾ is a fool²⁾. He left school at „as in praesenti“ (quasi „ass in present I“), the beginning of the conjugations in Lilly's Latin Grammar, and never looked at a book afterward (pp. 196—7). He constantly addresses Horace-Jonson as „mine ingle“ or „ningle“ (p. 191, and *passim*). He praises Horace's verses (p. 193), acts as tale-bearer to him (p. 195), imitates his language (p. 211), and intends to „proceed Poetaster next Commencement“ (p. 212). At the end of the play he is made to swear (1) that he will not get Horace to write for him; (2) that he will not carry Latin poets until he can read English; (3) that he will not call Horace „ningle“ (p. 261). He is represented as small in stature (p. 212), with very small legs (pp. 226, 233 etc.). He is constantly smoking (p. 192 and *passim*). He is challenged by Tucca, and, with the support of Horace, accepts (p. 233).

As I have already remarked, this character, corresponding

¹⁾ Quasi „Asininus Bubo“, Asinine Owl; „owl“ in Elizabeth's time was a cant word for a fool.

²⁾ „A kind of fool“ (p. 226). He himself says that his „bolts now and then should be soon shot“ (p. 227); that is, he is a fool, whose bolt, according to the proverb, is soon shot.

exactly with Marston's *Simplicius Faber* except for its greater completeness, must have been drawn from the same subject. That subject must have been to Jonson very nearly what Richard Brome afterward became, at once servant and pupil. It is barely possible that Marston's „Faber“ may indicate that the man's name was Smith¹⁾.

Crispinus-Marston and Demetrius-Dekker, as portrayed in *Satiromastix*, are only shadows. They say that they have acted wholly in self-defence (pp. 197, 198 etc.).

Tucca is imitated from Jonson's Tucca in the *Poetaster*. Dekker affirms that Horace-Jonson drew the character from Captain Hannam. „I wonder“, he says, „what language Tucca would have spoke, if honest Captain Hannam had been born without a tongue.“ (Address to the World prefixed to *Satiromastix*, p. 182). Captain Hannam was doubtless a well-known person about London. The two Tuccas can owe to him nothing more than their peculiar tricks of language, for the real character of Jonson's Tucca is radically different from that of Dekker's. Dekker represents him as less fickle, less gay, and more revengeful. He places him definitely on the side of the *Poetasters*; Jonson makes him adhere to the winning party.

As I have already pointed out, all the other characters of the play belong to the major and minor plots of the original tragedy of King Rufus, and hence can have nothing personally satirical about them.

SUMMARY OF THE DEKKER-MARSTON-JONSON QUARREL.

I have now traced in detail the progress of the quarrel between Jonson, and Marston and Dekker. I have shown that Jonson told Drummond that the beginning of the quarrel was not that Marston represented him as given to venery in his youth, but merely that Marston represented him on the stage. I have shown that in his revision of *Histrionastix* in August,

¹⁾ I suppose that some one will soon try to identify him with Wentworth Smith, a mysterious playwright who worked for Henslowe from April 4, 1601, to March 12, 1602/3. Nothing else is known of him.

1599, Marston actually did, consciously or unconsciously, represent Jonson on the stage in the character of Chrysogonus, and that before that date there is not a trace of any ill-feeling between Jonson and Marston, either in Jonson's plays — *A Tale of a Tub*, *Every Man in his Humour*, and *The Case is Altered* — or in Marston's *Satires* and *Scourge of Villany*. The representation in *Histriomastix*, however, was so obviously well-intended, that, in spite of Jonson's irritation, the quarrel did not break out with any violence until after the presentation of *Every Man out of his Humour* in February or March, 1599/1600. In the mean time, it is probable that Jonson and Marston had been collaborating on the lost *Scot's Tragedy* in September, 1599, and certain that the two parts of *Antonio* and *Mellida* had appeared without any reflections upon Jonson. Jonson and Dekker had certainly been working together in August and September, 1599, on *Page of Plymouth* and the *Scot's Tragedy*. In *Every man out of his Humour* Jonson had ridiculed some of Marston's favourite words and expressions, but without bringing either Dekker or Marston upon the stage. Marston, however, responded with *Jack Drum*, 1600, in which he represented Jonson as *Brabant Senior*. Jonson replied in *Cynthia's Revels*, February or March, 1600/1, in which he ridiculed Marston and Dekker as the friends *Hedon* and *Anaides*. Marston at once answered with *What You Will*, March or April, 1601, attacking Jonson as *Lampatho Doria*. All this time the quarrel had been growing more bitter, and now Jonson made the climax with the *Poetaster*, about June, 1601, in which he vented his wrath upon Marston and Dekker as the associated malignants *Crispinus* and *Demetrius*. Dekker, probably with the advice and assistance of Marston, promptly responded with *Satiromastix*, about August, 1601. Jonson, in reply, added the *Apologetical Dialogue* to the *Poetaster*, reiterating all his abuse, but declining to carry the quarrel further.

We have no means of knowing exactly when the quarrel ended. Fleay has several times asserted (so also Symonds, *Ben Jonson*, p. 43) that it ended before the publication of *Chester's Love's Martyr*, 1601; for to that book Jonson, Chapman, Marston,

and Shakspeare contributed. This idea is unfounded; for the contributions of the four men are wholly independent. No doubt the compiler of the book asked these four poets for verses for the simple reason that they were at the moment the most prominent literary figures of the time; this prominence came in no small measure from this very quarrel. From *ii Return from Parnassus* we may be fairly sure that Shakspeare and Jonson, at least, were still on ill terms at Christmas, 1601. When Dekker published *Satiromastix* in 1602, he was as bitter as ever toward Jonson. Late in 1603, however, we find Marston highly complimenting Jonson in the Epilogue to the *Malcontent*; and the most friendly relations lasted until 1606. We cannot tell whether the coolness that ensued was permanent; for after that year Marston wrote no more, and completely dropped out of the literary world.

The great quarrel properly so called seems to have affected both Jonson and Marston deeply. After the appearance of Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Jonson did not write another comedy for nearly four years, and Marston kept absolute silence for over two years.

It is easier to discuss the beginnings of the quarrel. We have seen that at the close of the sixteenth century, the time was ripe for personal satire upon the stage. When such a character as Jonson came suddenly into prominence — a man who, as Symonds expresses it (*Ben Jonson* p. 36), „maintained that he had liberty and licence to commend himself and abuse his comrades; but if they commended themselves, this was inflation; or if they abused him, this was detraction“ — an outburst was inevitable.

Both sides, as we have seen, affirmed that they were acting in self-defence. These assertions can be reconciled by regarding Marston's complimentary representation of Jonson as *Chrysogonus* as the beginning of the quarrel. This compliment appears to have been interpreted by Jonson as an insult; although it led to no open outbreak for several months, no doubt the fires were smouldering all the time. The first overt act of hostile intention seems to have been the ridicule of Marston's vocabulary which Jonson inserted in *Every Man out*

of his Humour. This must have given rise to many mutual recriminations before the appearance of the bitter satire of Jack Drum. Immediately after Dekker's plea of self-defence in the preface to *Satiromastix*, he adds: „Notwithstanding the Doctors think otherwise.“ This opinion of the „doctors“ may have arisen in either of two ways. First, they may have accepted Jonson's wrong interpretation of the character of Chrysogonus; or, secondly ignoring the mild satire of *Every Man out of his Humour* and the private quarrels which must have followed and preceded it, they may have supposed that Marston's *Jack Drum* was an unprovoked assault.

It is impossible at this time fully to decide as to the justice of the quarrel. Jonson was insolent and overbearing; Marston was quick-tempered and conceited; Dekker was an intimate friend of Marston. Given such conditions, a quarrel must occur, in which all parties are partly in the wrong.

Jonson makes just two definite charges against Crispinus-Marston and Demetrius-Dekker ¹⁾; first, that they taxed Horace-Jonson „falsely, of self-love, arrogancy, impudence, railing, filching by translation“. The Poetasters were certainly guilty of thus taxing Horace, — not, however, falsely; on this count, I hold them wholly excusable. Secondly, Jonson calls both plagiarists, affirming in addition that Marston plagiarized from him (*Poet. iv, 1, p. 328*) ²⁾. With regard to Dekker's case, I can say nothing except that it were indeed wonderful if so prolific a writer did not occasionally trespass upon the literary property of others. Marston's case is harder to decide. Marston's plays, like Jonson's, are realistic and satirical comedies of humours. It is impossible, however, to say just how far one poet influenced the other. Jonson was a trifle older and commenced to write a trifle sooner; but Jonson's early plays seem to have been not realistic comedies, but romantic tragedies,

¹⁾ Not reckoning his random talk about the evil lives of his detractors, and his ridicule of their poverty, their poetry, and the like.

²⁾ It is possible that Jonson's Epigram lvi, on Poet-ape, refers to Marston; if so, it makes another charge of plagiarism.

which, indeed, he continued to write until 1602¹). Meres mentions him, in 1598, only as a tragic poet. *The Case is Altered* and *A Tale of a Tub* are the only remains of his early comedy left to us, and the latter of these is much altered. Neither one, in spite of the personal satire in the first act of *The Case is Altered*, is a play of humours. Jonson's first genuine humour-play seems to have been *Every Man in his Humour*, 1598, probably late in the year. Marston's earliest comic humours appear in the minor plots of the two parts of *Antonio and Mellida*, 1599—1600. Nevertheless, I do not believe that Marston's satiric treatment of humours was much, if at all, influenced by Jonson; for it is very much in evidence in his first book of poems, entered on the Stationers' Register May 27, 1598, at a date probable considerably earlier than Jonson's first comedy of humours; and nearly all his satiric motives are outlined in the *Scourge of Villany*, entered September 8, 1598. Although it has always been said that Marston took his idea of the *Critic on the Stage* from Jonson, the evidence does not sustain the assertion; for, since Jonson's three extant Critics — *Asper*, *Crites*, and *Horace* — and only these three are carefully enumerated in *Satiromastix*, it is presumable that a fourth never existed; but Marston's *Chrysogonus* (*Histriomastix*) and *Feliche* (*Ant. and Mel.*) both antedate the earliest of these. The Marstonian *Chrysogonus*, intended for a balance to the wretched players and the Philistine gentlemen and citizens of the play, took the form of Jonson. Subsequently, beginning with *Feliche*, Marston worked the *Critic on the Stage* into the dramatic, imaginative, complex character that we find in the *Malcontent* and the *Fawn*. Jonson, seeing the possibilities of the character from a different point of view, worked it into a simple and prosaic form — an idealization of self²). So far as we can now see, Jonson gave Marston nothing but the idea of *Inductions*. On the other hand, Jonson apparently plagiarized

¹) Page of Plymouth, 1599; Scot's Tragedy, 1599; Additions to Jeronimo, 1601—2; Richard Crookback, 1602.

²) This Jonsonese critic is imitated by Marston in a part of the character of *Quadratus* in *What You Will*.

from Marston the painter-scene in his revision of the Spanish Tragedy.

Nor did Marston apparently plagiarize from other men. He has been accused of stealing from Shakspeare; but this charge is mainly owing to the wrong attribution of Barksted's *Insatiate Countess* to Marston¹). If we exclude this play, and a few well-known commonplaces like „Do me right and dub me knight“, Bullen has noted in all Marston's Works, including the eight plays and two books of poems printed in his edition, only twenty-one reminiscences of Shakspeare²). Further, of those twenty-one allusions, ten, including all the most exact imitations, are „play-ends“, clearly quoted in jest³).

Jonson, then, makes out a very poor case. The attacks of the Poetasters upon his conduct were justifiable; Dekker was no more a plagiarist than Shakspeare; Marston took from Jonson no more than Jonson took from him, and borrowed little from other men.

As we learn from the Introduction to *Satiromastix*, Dekker had been accused of attacking in that play other men than Horace-Jonson (and his Bubo); probably it was wrongly alleged that the dispute as to the relative merits of hair and no hair was intended for personal satire on Harvey and Nash. As Jonson's *Tucca* was interpreted as an attack upon soldiers, so doubtless was Dekker's, but wrongly.

Satiromastix, like the *Poetaster*, indulges in many bits of personal ridicule which do not deserve our notice; the final abjuration of Horace, too, is confined to minor matters, about which it is now impossible to determine the truth. The important charges brought against Jonson by Dekker are arrogance, assailing the law, deriding courtiers, libeling citizens and their wives, and arraigning two poets at Blackfriars. To these we must add, from Jonson's *Apologetical Dialogue*, the charges made by many that he satirized captains and players.

¹) I have discussed this matter in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. v, 277—282, Boston, 1897.

²) This number could be somewhat increased by careful observation.

³) *Mal.* i, 1, 105; 350—353; iii, 1, 250. *Fawn*, ii, 1, 212. *W. Y. W.* ii, 1, 127. *S. of V.* vii, 1. *East. Ho!* iii, 4, 214; i, 1, 112; ii, 1, 114; iii, 2, 6.

Of arrogance, Jonson was surely guilty. He certainly libeled courtiers in most of the characters in *Cynthia's Revels* and in that of *Fastidious Brisk*, and citizens and their wives in the characters of *Deliro* and *Fallace*, the *Citizen* and his *Wife*, and *Albius* and *Chloe*. As for the players, Jonson himself acknowledged that he attacked some; these, as we have seen, belonged to the Chamberlain's company — the company that publicly produced *Satiromastix*. Jonson denied that he satirized captains in general; in this he was doubtless truthful, for *Tucca* is not a type of a soldier, but merely an example of a class of pretended soldiers. Jonson's attack on the law is not found, as some critics have supposed, in the character of *Lupus*; for *Lupus* is a magistrate, who makes arrests in person, and is not, properly speaking, a lawyer at all. The attack is contained in Act i, Scene 1 — the scene in which *Ovid Senior*, *Lupus*, and *Tucca* unite in dissuading *Publius Ovid* from poetry — and especially in the following words:

„*Lupus*. Indeed, young *Publius*, he that will now hit the mark must shoot through the law; we have no other planet reigns, and in that sphere you may sit and sing with angels. Why, the law makes a man happy, without respecting any other merit; a simple scholar, or none at all, may be a lawyer.

Tucca. He tells thee true, my noble neophyte, my little grammaticaster, he does; it shall never put thee to thy mathematics, metaphysics, philosophy, and I know not what supposed sufficiencies; if thou canst but have the patience to plod enough, talk, and make noise enough, be impudent enough, and 'tis enough.

Lup. Three books will furnish you.

Tuc. And the less art, the better: besides, when it shall be in the power of thy chevril conscience, to do right, or wrong, at thy pleasure, my pretty *Alcibiades*.

Lup. Ay, and to have better men than himself, by many thousand degrees, to observe him, and stand bare.

Tuc. True, and to carry himself proud, and stately, and have the law on his side for it, old boy.“ *Poet. i, 1, p. 274.*

Jonson, then, is guilty of nearly all the important charges brought against him by Dekker, and likewise of assailing the players. The *Poetasters-in-chief* have made out the better case.

WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

The name of Shakspere has always been connected with the quarrel, partly because critics have been very fond of talking of Jonson's alleged jealousy and ill-treatment of him, and of searching for evidences of retaliation on Shakspere's part, and partly because of the lines in which Kempe declares that „our fellow Shakspere hath given him (Jonson) a purge that made him beray his credit“ (ii *Return from Parnassus*, Jan. 1601/2, iv, 5)¹).

¹) Beyond this allusion, the trilogy *Parnassus* (ed. W. D. Macray, Oxford, 1886), acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, has no connection with the great quarrel. As Arber has proved beyond a doubt (*Eng. Scholars' Library*, *Return from Parnassus*, pp. ix-xii), ii *Return from Parnassus*, the last play of the trilogy and that containing our allusion, was written about January 1, 1601/2.

As Fleay has pointed out (*Chr.* ii, 351), the character and adventures of *Ingenioso*, who appears in all three plays, nearly coincide with those of Thomas Nash. The character is not, however, as Fleay seems to think, personal satire; for Nash was already dead when ii *Return from Parnassus* was written, and *Ingenioso* always appears as the estimable friend of the heroes *Philomusus* and *Studioso*. He is simply brought in as an instance of the undeserved distress that often befalls talented and learned men.

The style of the *Cantabrigian Furor Poeticus* in ii *Return from Parnassus* is so plainly a parody on Marston's that we must acknowledge that the author had that poet in mind, particularly since *Furor* tells us that he was „begot on *Thalia*“ (iv, 2), indicating that he was a writer of comedies. I do not, however, with Fleay (*Chr.* ii, 352) identify *Furor* with Marston; for Marston was of Oxford, not Cambridge, and seems never to have been reduced to *Furor*'s poverty. *Furor* is, as his name implies, little more than a personification of poetic madness, expressed, as it were, in terms of Marston.

Phantasma, the speaker of Latin scraps, and *Academico*, the ideal poor

The earliest supposed reference to Shakspeare which can have anything to do with my subject is found in *Histriomastix*. That the Posthaste of the original play was not, as Simpson thought, intended for Shakspeare is evident from the single fact that Posthaste is never represented as a player, but always as a poet. Now at any date before 1600, if any one had wished to assail Shakspeare as a dramatist, he would surely have represented him as an upstart player. This is shown not merely by general considerations, but by those very treatises of Greene with which Simpson tries to correlate *Histriomastix*. I might add that Shakspeare is not known to have written ballads, that he is not known to have versified extempore, that he is not known to have composed moral plays, and that he did not participate in public affairs; but, given the first reason, all these are unnecessary.

I have shown that the Posthaste of the old *Histriomastix* was not meant for Shakspeare. Yet Simpson alleged, advancing no argument, that the Marstonian Posthaste, as well as the first character of that name, was a caricature of him. Prof. Wood (*Am. Journal of Philol.* xvi, 273 ff.) attempts to prove Simpson's guess. He affirms that Posthaste's three original plays — the *Lascivious Knight* and *Lady Nature*, the *Prodigal Child*, and one unnamed (iv, 158—190) are meant to ridicule Shakspeare's *Falstaff* plays, and *Troilus* and *Cressida*, of course Shakspeare's *Troilus* and *Cressida*. In the *Lascivious Knight* and *Lady Nature* Wood sees an allusion to the *Merry Wives*, the original title of which was „Sir John Falstaff and the Merry Wives of Windsor“. He rests his argument solely on the comparison of the following passage with *Histriomastix*:

„Fal. Thou hast the right arched beauty of the brow that becomes the ship-tire, the tire-valiant, or any tire of Venetian admittance.

scholar, cannot be identified. No other characters can possibly have any connection with literary men. As we should expect in a university play, then, we find that although the author of *Parnassus* criticized the works of many of his contemporaries, mildly ridiculed Marston's style, gave us a half-jocose portrait of Nash, and mentioned Shakspeare and Jonson, he did not indulge in any genuine personal satire (on literary men), and that he was not in any way involved in the great quarrel.

Mrs. Ford. A plain kerchief, Sir John, my brows become nothing else.“
M. W. iii, 3, 59 ff.

„Posthaste“, Wood goes on, „abruptly asks his fellow-players, ‚My masters, what tire wears your lady on her head?‘ (i. e., what headdress ought I to have given a lady in my play?) Posthaste inhabits too low a sphere to be supposed to know what a lady should wear. Belch, by occupation a beard-maker, replies: ‚Four squirrel tails tied in a true-love’s knot.‘ Posthaste rejoins: ‚O amiable good, ’tis excellent!‘ The comment of the second player, Gut, on the whole business is, ‚Faith, we can read nothing but riddles‘. It is evident that an easy riddle was intended for those among the audience who were in the secret, and the interpretation was to be found in the scene from *Merry Wives* above cited. The humour lies, of course, in the contrast between Mrs. Ford’s simple kerchief, appropriate to her station, and the exotic head-dresses proposed for her, but worn only by ladies of birth and fashion.“

Neglecting for the time the fact that the whole hypothesis that Posthaste is meant for Shakspeare can be disposed of in forty words, I shall briefly consider Wood’s statements in detail. In the first place, he has shown no reason whatever why „Lady Nature“ should, even to the sharpest audience, suggest Mrs. Ford, much less „The Merry Wives of Windsor“. Secondly, he has missed the point of the passage in *Histriomastix*, which passage is simply one of those jokes on the attire of the court ladies which are found everywhere in Elizabethan plays. In „squirrels tails“ (as the words should read) we doubtless have a dirty pun on „squirrel“, a little animal, and „squirrel“, a loose woman. Otherwise there is no meaning in Posthaste’s rejoinder, „O amiable good, ’tis excellent!“ Thirdly, Gut’s remark is not a comment on „the whole business“; for the line precedes the passage about the „tire“, and cannot possibly refer to it. Finally, if Pasthaste were inquiring „what head-dress he ought to have given a lady in his play“, which he is not, that play would necessarily be the *Prodigal Child*, for the passage occurs in Posthaste’s reading of the manuscript of that play. Wood seems to think that it is Lady Nature.

Wood asserts that the *Prodigal Child* caricatures Henry IV,

because Henry IV „has preserved traces of the form of the morality“, because Falstaff is called „Satan, Devil, Vice, Iniquity, Vanity“, and because „hath many poor men of their goods beguiled“ alludes to Prince Hal's robbery of the travellers. The first and third of these reasons can scarcely commend themselves to scholars; and, according to the second, Hamlet, too, is a survival of the morality, because the King is „a Vice of kings“, „a king of shreds and patches“.

But enough of this. Posthaste was not meant for Shakspeare. No one has brought forward a tittle of valid evidence to prove that he was. The fact that Posthaste is never a player, but always a poet (a fact which is not noticed by Wood) is inconceivable on the hypothesis that Posthaste is Shakspeare. Posthaste is a tatterdemalion pot-poet, surrounded by a rascally gang of beggars — himself a rascal whose sole claim to respectability lies in a clean shirt and some learning; Shakspeare was a respected member of the finest and most flourishing company of players in England, and had already accumulated a considerably property. And finally, in hardly a single particular can Shakspeare's life and character be reconciled with the life and character of Posthaste; for Shakspeare, as I have said, was not a ballad-writer, not an extemporaneous singer, not a morality-writer, and not a politician. Penniman (War 41—3) comes to the same conclusion.

Nevertheless the pun in the line „That when he shakes his furious spear“ (ii, 273) is so palpable as to make it at first sight seem probable that a hit at Shakspeare was intended. I shall soon discuss this so-called allusion.

The fantastic „discoveries“ of numerous passages in Jonson's works -- whole plays, indeed — devoted to ridiculing and vilifying Shakspeare, „discoveries“ made by such men as Hermann, have been rejected by all sensible critics. Entering upon the subject without prejudice, I have been able to find in Jonson's plays not one particle of personal satire directed against Shakspeare¹⁾.

¹⁾ The dramatic company to which Shakspeare belonged was satirized in the Poetaster.

It is true that in the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, not published in the quarto version, Jonson in all probability¹⁾ ridicules Shakspeare's dramatic art. He says:

„Though need make many poets, and some such
As art and nature have not bettered much;
Yet ours, for want, hath not so loved the stage
As he dare serve the ill customs of the age,
Or purchase your delight at such a rate
As, for it, he himself must justly hate:
To make a child, now swaddled, to proceed
Man, and then shoot up, in one beard and weed,
Past three-score years, or, with three rusty swords,
And help of some few foot and half-foot words,
Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars,
And in the tiring-house bring wounds to scars.
He rather prays you will be pleased to see
One such to-day, as other plays should be;
Where neither chorus wafts you o'er the seas,
Nor creaking throne comes down, the boys to please.“

This, most critics think, contains unfavourable allusions to Henry VI („York and Lancaster's long jars“) and Henry V („chorus wafts you o'er the seas“). If so, since the last-named play did not appear until 1599, Jonson's prologue must have been written after that date; the whole tone of the prologue seems to indicate that it was written after Jonson had become one of the best-known literary men of the time; I therefore assign it to about 1605, the date of revision of the play. These allusions thus fall entirely outside the period of the great stage-quarrel; further, they are not at all of the nature of personal satire, but are rather literary criticisms, like those later passed by Jonson upon Shakspeare in his *Timber* and in his *Conversations with Drummond*.

In *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1599/1600, Mitis objects „that the argument of his comedy might have been of some other nature, as of a duke to be in love with a countess, and that countess to be in love with the duke's son, and the son to love the lady's waiting-maid; some such cross wooing, with a clown to their serving-man, better than to be thus near, and

¹⁾ Not absolutely certainly, as Penniman shows (War 14—17).

familiarly allied to the time." (iii, 1, p. 188). This, it has been asserted, was written by Jonson in ridicule of Shakspeare's Twelfth Night. Even if it were, it would still, like the passage in the prologue of *Every Man in his Humour*, be merely a literary criticism, and not a manifestation of personal pique or enmity. This passage, however, does not refer to Twelfth Night at all. In Twelfth Night, the duke falls in love with a lady, the lady with the duke's supposed page, and the supposed page with the duke — a very different thing. Moreover, it is improbable that Twelfth Night was in existence when *Every Man out of his Humour* appeared. Of course Jonson's ridicule is directed against the old and very common convention of the „chain of love“ and against the omnipresence of the clown in Elizabethan comedy.

There being no other indication of satire directed by any one against Shakspeare, let us now turn to the discussion of the active part taken by him in the quarrel. Fleay affirms that Parolles in *All's Well* and Malvolio in Twelfth Night are caricatures of Marston (*Shakespeariana*, i, 103—106; 136—140; *Life of Shakespeare*, London, Nimmo, 1886, pp. 218—9).

Of Parolles, Fleay says (*Shakespeare*, p. 218): „Born under Mars, muddled in Fortune's displeasure, an egregious coward, an accuser of Captain Dumain of being lousy, he in all points agrees with Marston, as figured in the other satirical plays or the time.“ On the contrary, in not a single point does he agree with Marston, as figured in the satirical plays of the time. Fleay says: „The charge against Dumain is repeated against Jonson in *Satiromastix*“; but Dumain is not Jonson, and Marston did not write *Satiromastix*. „Marston“, continues Fleay, „had left the Admiral's company in 1599, just before the Fortune Theatre was built for them“; he never worked for the Admiral's company, unless as collaborator on one play; all his extant plays are for child-actors. „His cowardice is dilated on in Jonson's *Conversations*“; Jonson simply says that he beat Marston, as well he might, considering his size. „The allusions to him as Jack Drum are frequent in the play“; there is no such allusion. „Give him not John Drum's entertainment“ occurs (iii, 6, 41), it is true; but that was a well-known

and common proverb, whence Marston's play got its title¹⁾. „Jack Drum“ does not once occur; and all the other mentions of drums have to do with Parolles' adventure of the drum. I repeat, in not a single point do the character and actions of Parolles agree with the character and actions of Marston.

Fleay also supposes that in Twelfth Night „Sir Toby represents Jonson and Malvolio Marston“ (Shakespeare, p. 220). He advances no arguments for the former amazing proposition; it is too absurd for discussion. As for Malvolio, Fleay has made a very clever suggestion (Shakespeariana i, 136) that Malvolio is a satirical representation of Marston, who, he says, had represented himself as Malevole in the Malcontent, and that the mysterious M. O. A. I. of Maria's letter is an anagram of IO(HN) MA(RSTON). Unfortunately for him, however, Malvolio bears not the least resemblance to Malevole except in name²⁾; Malevole, moreover, is clearly not intended to represent Marston himself; and, lastly, Twelfth Night, mentioned by Manningham in February 1601/2, must have appeared at least eighteen months before the Malcontent, with its imitation of the version of Hamlet acted in 1603 and its allusion to the Scots that came in with James I.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. In only one work of Shakspeare can I find the slightest allusion to the quarrel³⁾;

¹⁾ Compare, for example, „Plato . . . gave them all Drum's entertainment“, Gosson's School of Abuse, 1579, ed. Sh. Soc. 1841, p. 12.

²⁾ Malvolio is merely the conventional gentleman usher or steward of Puritanic tendencies. Compare the description of Bassiolo in Chapman's Gentleman Usher: „One that I would have choosed past all the rest, for his close stockings only.“ Also for „the most constant fashion of his hat“, and „his strict form thus still to wear his cloak“. Further,

„To these outward figures of his mind,
He hath two inward swallowing properties
Of any gudgeons; servile avarice
And overweening thought of his own worth,
Ready to snatch at every shade of glory.“

Gentleman Usher, i, 1.

³⁾ The rivalry between the child-actors and the common players mentioned in Hamlet is another matter.

that work is *Troilus and Cressida*¹⁾. In it there are at least three verbal allusions to quarrel-plays²⁾; and, if any trace of the „purge“ mentioned by Kempe remains to us, it is found in this play. Unluckily, *Troilus and Cressida* is one of the most puzzling of all Shakspeare's dramas. I must discuss it with considerable elaboration.

Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida* first appeared in 1609, in two quarto editions; the title-page of the earlier of the two reads: „The Historie of Troylus and Cressida, at is was acted by the Kings Majesties Servants at the Globe“³⁾; the later quarto contains a preface stating that the play was „never stal'd with the stage, never clapperclaw'd with the palms of the vulgar“, and that it was published against the wills of the „grand possessors“. The play was inserted in the folio of 1623 without pagination, between the histories and tragedies.

A play of *Troilus and Cressida* was entered for James Roberts on the Stationers' Register under date of February 7, 1602 (i. e., 1602/3) thus: „The Booke of Troilus and Cressida, as yt is acted by My Lo. Chamberlen's men. When he hath gotten sufficient aucthority for yt.“

With regard to the date of Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida* the greatest uncertainty has always prevailed. Hertzberg, from the metrical characteristics of the play, dates it about 1603, but says that it could not have been the play entered on February 7, 1602/3, because the preface of 1609 shows that Shakspeare's play was never acted (Introduction to T. & C. in translation published by Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft). This view is endorsed by Freiherr von Friesen (*Shakspeare-Studien*, Wien, 1876, vol. iii, 344—6). Fleay, on metrical and general stylistic grounds, assigns the *Troilus*-story (i, 1, 2; iii, 1, 2; iv, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (12—63); v, 2, 3) to an early date — about 1594; the play, he says, was completed by another hand about 1599, and the Prologue and v, 4—10 are fragments of

¹⁾ Penniman fails to discuss this play. He cites some opinions of other men in War 146—151.

²⁾ Prologue 22—24; i, 3, 73; ii, 3, 22.

³⁾ That this edition was the earlier was conclusively proved by Henry Paine Stokes; the proof is quoted in the *Bankside* edition of *Troilus and Cressida*.

this version; the play, he continues without giving any reasons for his statements, was „revised 1602“; and, finally, the Ajax-story was „rewritten by Shakespeare c. 1605, ending at v, 3“, the Thersites part of v, 2 being then added¹⁾. Fleay's view is in general endorsed by Henrik Schück (William! Shakspeare, hans lif och verksamhet; en historisk framställning, Stockholm, 1883—4. Summarized by Wilhelm Bolin, Shakespeare-Jahrbuch, xxii, 202—216). R. Boyle (Transactions of New Shakespeare Society, 1880—6, p. 448) endorses Fleay's views, but goes farther; he thinks that the Shakspearean part includes only the Troilus-story, and the Ajax-story contained in the first three acts; the second author, he believes, wrote all the rest, added rhyme-tags to the speeches in the Ulysses part²⁾, and inserted other portions, notably the well-known lines about Aristotle's thinking young men unfit to hear moral philosophy — the lines of which the upholders of the Baconian hypothesis have made so much. Verplanck and Grant White (in their editions of Shakspeare) think that the play was first written about 1603, and enlarged about 1608. Stache (Das Verhältniss von Shakspeare's Troilus and Cressida zu Chaucer's gleichnamigem Gedicht, Nordhausen, 1893, p. 7) holds similar views. Earlier writers dated it as late as 1608 or 1609, because of the worldly wisdom of Ulysses. I believe, on the other hand, that the whole play was written late in 1601.

The play entered by James Roberts on February 7, 1602/3, must have been by Shakspeare; for the preparation by two different men of two plays upon the same subject and with the same title for the same company³⁾ within the space of six or seven years would be wholly unprecedented. Further, that play of 1602 contained both the Troilus-story and the „camp“story;

¹⁾ Ingleby's Shakespeare: the Man and the Book, 1881, Part ii, 128: Fleay's treatment of Troilus and Cressida in his Life of Shakespeare, 1886, pp. 220 ff., adds nothing but wild conjecture.

²⁾ For this statement Boyle has no arguments except that the tag-rhymes are written in the second author's „own peculiar, easily-recognized metre“. I see no indications that the tag-rhymes are not Shakspeare's.

³⁾ On the accession of James I, the „Lord Chamberlain's men“ became „the King's Majesty's servants“.

for in „Saint Marie Magdalens Conversion“, 1603/4, (quoted by Halliwell-Phillipps in *Life of Shakespeare*, ii, 301) we read:

- ✓ „Of Helens rape and Troyes besieged towne,
- ✓ Of Troylus faith, and Cressids falsitie,
- Of Rychards stratagems for the english crowne,
- Of Tarquins lust and Lucrece chastitie,
- Of these, of none of these my muse nowe treats,
- Of greater conquests, warres, and loves she speakes.“

Although Shakspeare is not named, it is clear that all the works mentioned are by him. The preface to the poem is dated „this last of Januarie, 1603“. According to the usage of the time, this must mean January 1603/4.

The play as it stands cannot have been written before 1598; for, as I shall show later, certain portions are derived from Chapman's *Homer*, the first instalment of which appeared in that year. Further, the play as we have it seems later than Dekker's *Satiromastix*, August or September, 1601; for „When rank Thersites opes his mastic jaws“ (i, 3, 73) seems a clear allusion to the railings of that play. It is much less likely to refer to *Histriomastix*, for that play attracted nothing like so much public attention as *Satiromastix*. Again, „I have said my prayers, and devil Envy say amen“ (ii, 3, 22) seems an allusion to Jonson's employment of Envy as prologue to the *Poetaster*, about June 1601. The Prologue of *Troilus and Cressida* was surely written shortly after the appearance of the *Poetaster*; for the lines

„and hither am I come
A prologue armed, but not in confidence
Of author's pen or actor's voice“

are an obvious parody upon Jonson's prologue:

„If any muse why I salute the stage
An armed prologue; know, 'tis a dangerous age;
Wherein who writes had need present his scenes
Forty-fold proof against the conjuring means
Of base detractors and illiterate apes,
That fill up rooms in fair and formal shapes.
'Gainst these have we put on this forced defence;
Whereof the allegory and hid sense
Is, that a well-erected confidence
Can fright their pride, and laugh their folly hence.“

Tentatively, then, we may assume that the play was written

between the autumn of 1601 and February, 1602/3. We next turn to the verse-tests; for if the verse-lines of the play belong to more than one date, those tests are sure¹⁾ to indicate it, and if the play is of only one date, the verse-tests will give us an independent means of fixing it with tolerable accuracy.

Since I have found the existing metrical analyses of the play inadequate or untrustworthy, I have been compelled to make a new and careful one¹⁾:

Troilus Story.	Total verse-lines.	Short lines.	Total 5 or 6 measure lines.	Alexandrines.	Rhymed lines.	Feminine endings.	Double feminine endings.	End-stopped lines.	Extra syllables at caesura.	Light endings.
Act I Sc. 1	70	1	69		8	15		63	1	
2	34	1	33		14	7		27	2	
III 1	11		11	1		6		7	3	
2	108	7	101	1	6	18		79	2	
IV. 1	79	5	74		6	21		58	6	1
2	64	4	60	3		18	1	49	5	
3	12	2	10	1		2		7		
4	127	7	120	1	12	29	2	96	6	1
5 (12—63)	51	4	47		20	6		42	1	
V 2	145	3	142	1	10	29		120	9	
3 (95 to end)	7		7		4	1		7		
Total	708	²⁾ 34	674	³⁾ 8	80	152	⁴⁾ 3	555	⁵⁾ 35	⁶⁾ 2
Percentage				1 2	11 9	22 5	0 44	82 0	5 2	0 3

¹⁾ Hertzberg's analysis is of no value for the purpose, since he has given only the results for the complete play, without distinguishing the Troilus-story from the Hector-story. Although Fleay has tabulated his results by scenes, he has entirely omitted Act i, scene 3 — the longest verse-scene of the play.

In order more completely to refute Fleay's ideas, I have accepted his division of the play, and tabulated my results accordingly.

²⁾ Since it is impossible to distinguish between short verse-lines and prose, I have included in this number only such lines as occur in the course of blank-verse speeches, or in very close connection with blank-verse.

³⁾ III, 1, 171; III, 2, 190; IV, 2, 6, 7, 13; IV, 3, 5; IV, 4, 5; V, 2, 188.

⁴⁾ IV, 2, 38; IV, 4, 26, 80.

⁵⁾ I, 1, 113; I, 2, 2, 4; III, 1, 162, 163, 166; III, 2, 14, 163; IV, 1, 1, 4, 20, 40, 45, 51; IV, 2, 17, 35, 102, 107, 115; IV, 4, 42, 57, 71, 87, 118, 142; IV, 5, 6; V, 2, 23, 40, 49, 87, 101, 132, 144, 145, 165.

⁶⁾ IV, 1, 8; IV, 4, 28.

Ajax Story.	Total verse-lines.	Short lines.	Total 5 or 6 measure lines.	Alexandrines.	Rhymed lines.	Feminine endings.	Double feminine endings.	End-stopt lines.	Extra syllables at caesura.	Light endings.
Act I Sc. 3	380	13	367	6	20	73	1	247	15	
II 1	10	2	8					4	2	
2	212	5	207	1	10	45		123	9	1
3	130	5	125	4	4	30		84	11	1
III 3	233	10	223	9	6	62	3	150	13	
IV 5 (except 12-63)	241	11	230	2	10	54		176	13	2
V 1	34	3	31		4	8		28	3	
3 (1-94)	93	4	89		6	19		78	3	
Total	1333	53	1280	¹⁾ 22	60	291	²⁾ 4	890	³⁾ 69	⁴⁾ 4
Percentage				1 7	4 7	22 7	0 31	70 0	5 4	0 31

Troilus Story and Ajax Story combined.

Total			1954	30	140	443	7	1445	104	6
Percentage				1 5	7 2	22 7	0 36	74 5	5 3	0 31

Prologue and Doubtful Scenes.	Total verse-lines.	Short lines.	Total 5 or 6 measure lines.	Alexandrines.	Rhymed lines.	Feminine endings.	Double feminine endings.	End-stopt lines.	Extra syllables at caesura.	Light endings.
Prologue	31	2	29		4	5		13	1	
Act V Sc. 4	7	2	5					4	1	
5	47	2	45	1		16		32	3	
6	31	3	28	1	4	7		27	3	
Total	116	9	107	⁵⁾ 2	8	28	0	76	⁶⁾ 8	0
Percentage				1 9	7 5	26 0		71 0	7 5	

¹⁾ I, 3, 51, 80, 83, 168, 246, 357; II, 2, 46; II, 3, 134, 150, 187, 214; III, 3, 30, 107, 111, 123, 127, 153, 163, 169, 237; IV, 5, 66, 288.

²⁾ I, 3, 66; III, 3, 78, 190, 192.

³⁾ I, 3, 5, 44, 47, 49, 70, 91, 101, 136, 159, 168, 175, 197, 335, 338, 376; II, 1, 138, 140; II, 2, 20, 28, 34, 38, 56, 70, 76, 158, 188; II, 3, 119, 126, 133, 134, 145, 178, 180, 188, 194, 209, 259; III, 3, 3, 8, 31, 35, 74, 81, 113, 120, 143, 169, 190, 191, 219; IV, 5, 89, 106, 119, 126, 129, 138, 148, 176, 194, 197, 243, 264, 286; V, 1, 4, 87, 98; V, 3, 62, 70, 76.

⁴⁾ II, 2, 181; II, 3, 139; IV, 5, 124, 273.

⁵⁾ V, 5, 11; V, 6, 30.

⁶⁾ Prol. 22; V, 4, 21; V, 5, 11, 35, 44; V, 6, 5, 6, 30.

Prologue and Doubtful Scenes.	Total verse- lines.	Short lines.	Total 5 or 6 measures lines.	Alexandrines.	Rhymed lines.	Feminine endings.	Double fem- inine endings.	End-stopt lines.	Extro syl- lables at caesura.	Light endings.
Act V Sc. 7	8		8		2			8		
8	22		22		14			22		
9	9	1	8		6	4		7	1	
10	45		45		18	4		44		
Total	84	1	83	0	40	8	0	81	1)	1
Percentage					48 0	9 6		97 6	1 2	0

The following lines present such special difficulties that I give my treatment of them in full. Many have been reckoned as Alexandrines.

Fails in / the prom/ised large/ness; checks / 'nd disas/ters i, 3, 5.
 Of his / supe/rior, grows / t' an en/vious fe/ver i, 3, 133.
 Would seem / hyper/b'les. At / this fus/ty stuff / i, 3, 161.
 Pointing / on him. / And wake / him t' th' an'swer, think / you? i, 3, 331.
 The hold/ing. What / is aught, / but as / 'tis val/ued i, 2, 52.
 And cried / Inest/'mable / why do / you now / ii, 2, 88.
 We come / to speak / wi' him; and / you shall / not sin / ii, 3, 131.
 And give / him half; / and for / thy vig/-o-our / ii, 3, 257.
 Fresh kings / are come / to Troy; / tomor/-r-row / ii, 3, 272.
 Proposed / for the / deser/ver! O gen/tle Pand/'rus iii, 2, 14.
 To call / for rec/'mpense. Appear / it to / your mind / iii, 3, 3.
 To the / first giv/er. This's / not strange / Ulys/ses iii, 3, 102.
 As mi/sers do / hy beg/gars, ne'er gave / to me / iii, 3, 143.
 As done; / persev/erance, / de-ar / my lord / iii, 3, 150.
 With one / of Pri/am's daugh/ters. Ha/-a! known! / iii, 3, 194.
 Does thoughts / unveil / in their / dumb cra/-a-dles / iii, 3, 200.
 Did haunt / you i' th' field. / Health to / you, val/iant sir / iv, 1, 10.
 Good, good / my lord; / the se/cr-r-ets / of na/ture iv, 2, 74.
 Comes fast / upon. / Go-ood / my broth/er Troi/lus iv, 3, 3.
 As in/finite / as imm'nent; / but I'll / be true / iv, 3, 71.
 And you / this glove. / When shall / I se/-e you / iv, 3, 73.
 She was / not, su/-re. Mo/-ost sure / she was / v, 2, 126.
 Bifold / author'ty / where rea/son can / revolt / v, 2, 143.
 O-o / 'tis true. / Ho! bid / my trum/pet sonnd / v, 3, 13.
 Fie, sav/age, fi/-ie! Hec/tor, then / 'tis wars / v, 3, 48.
 Come, come, / thou bo/-oy-quel/ler, show / thy face / v, 5, 45.

1) V, 9, 3.

I have combined ii, 3, 246—250 as follows:

Wha-at / a vice / were it / in A/jax now,

If he / were proud /

Or cov/etous / of praise;

Ay, 'r sur/ly borne, /

Or strange, / or self/-affect/ed.

A comparison of the percentages in the Troilus-story and the Ajax-story, both of which were undoubtedly written by Shakspeare, gives interesting results:

	Alexandrines.	Rhymed lines.	Feminine endings.	Double feminine endings.	End-stopt lines.	Extra syllables at caesura.	Light endings.
Troilus-story	1 2	11 9	22 5	0 44	82 0	5 2	0 3
Ajax-story	1 7	4 7	22 7	0 31	70 0	5 4	0 31

We see that the percentages of Alexandrines, feminine endings, double feminine endings, extra syllables at the caesura, and light endings are almost identical. The differences in the percentages of rhymed lines and end-stopt lines (which latter naturally vary with the percentages of rhyme) are comparatively slight and easily explained. Of the 80 rhymed lines in the Troilus-story, 24 are employed in making sententious couplets (i, 2, 308—321; iii, 2, 178—9; v, 2, 107—114), of which Shakspeare was fond until the very last period of his work; 20 occur in the kissing-scene in iv, 5 — a scene so light in its nature that anything but rhyme would be manifestly unfit for it. This leaves us only 36 tag-rhymes. Of the 60 rhymed lines in the Ajax-story, 4 form sententious couplets (i, 3, 241—4), leaving 56 tag-rhymes. The percentage of tag-rhymes in the Troilus-story is 5 3%; in the Ajax-story it is 4 4%. Thus we see that the rhyme-test, when properly used, gives practically identical results in the two undoubtedly Shakspearean portions of the play. The somewhat larger percentage of end-stopt lines in the Troilus-story is due partly to the larger number of rhymes, and partly to the lighter mode of expression natural to the whole story. Deducting from the 555 end-stopt lines in the Troilus-story the 41 end-stopt lines

occurring in the 44 rhymed lines not tags, and from the 890 end-stopt lines in the Ajax-story the 4 end-stopt rhymed lines not tags, we find that the percentage of end-stopt lines in the Troilus part is reduced to 76 2^o%, while that of the Ajax part becomes 69 2^o%. The difference of 7^o% is slight, and is easily explained by the fact that a lighter form of expression is suitable to the story of Troilus' youthful love than would be fit for the grave speeches of Ulysses and his fellows.

It is evident, then, that the almost absolute identity of the percentages of Alexandrines, feminine endings, double feminine endings, extra syllables at the caesura, light endings, tag-rhymes, and end-stopt lines shows conclusively that the Troilus part and the Ajax part of the undoubtedly Shakspearean portion of Troilus and Cressida were written at the same time. That date is certainly not far from 1602 or 1603, as is shown by Hertzberg's studies of the progressive changes in Shakspeare's style¹⁾. It may fairly be assumed, then, that i, 1 to v, 3 inclusive, of the extant Troilus and Cressida is the whole or at least a part of the play entered upon the Stationers' Register February 7, 1602/3. Metrical analysis shows no evidence of revision.

The remainder of the play (Prologue, and v, 4—10 inclusive) is in the main not in Shakspeare's style. It is almost universally acknowledged that scenes 7 to 10 in Act v, except perhaps the Epilogue, were not written by him; they show no Shakspearean expressions, are written in the poorest imaginable style, and, as the following comparison of percentages shows, differ very radically from the rest of the play in metrical structure:

	Alexandrines.	Rhymed lines.	Feminine endings.	Double feminine endings.	End-stopt lines.	Extra syllables at caesura.	Light endings.
Troilus-story & Ajax-story	1 5	7 2	22 7	0 36	74 5	5 3	0 31
v, 7—10	0 0	48 0	9 6	0 00	97 6	1 2	0 00

¹⁾ Prefaces to plays in Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft translation of Shakspeare. The most important of his results are embodied in Dowden's Shakespeare Primer.

Scenes 4 to 6 in Act v are more doubtful; and about the genuineness of the Prologue a vigorous but fruitless discussion has prevailed for many years. In general tone, the style is similar to the better parts of v, 7—10; but scenes 4 to 6 contain some lines that sound like Shakspeare¹⁾, and their metrical characteristics are not unlike those of the main body of the play. The prose of v, 4 is thoroughly Shakspearean, and the Prologue forcibly calls to mind the choruses in Henry V. I give a percentage comparison of the metre with the remainder of the play:

	Alexandrines.	Rhymed lines.	Feminine endings.	Double feminine endings.	End-stopt lines.	Extra syllables at caesura.	Light endings.
Troilus-story & Ajax-story	1 5	7 2	22 7	0 36	74 5	5 3	0 31
Prol. & v, 4—6	1 9	7 5	26 0	0 0	71 0	7 5	0 0
v, 7—10	0 0	48 0	9 6	0 0	97 6	1 2	0 0

It seems clear that v, 4—10 did not form a part of the play as it was at first planned; for, as Fleay and Stache have remarked, the folio of 1623 prints the end of the third scene in Act v — the scene in which Troilus reads the letter brought by Pandarus from Cressida and tears it in to bits — as follows:

„Tro. Goe winde to winde, there turne and change together:
My loue with words and errors still she feedes;
But edifies another with her deedes.
Pand. Why, but heare you!
Troy. Hence brother lackie; ignomie and shame
Pursue thy life, and liue aye with thy name.“

At the end of v, 10 it reads, with the quartos:

„Tro. Strike a free march to Troy, with comfort goe;
Hope of reuenge, shall hide our inward woe.

¹⁾ „Dexterity so obeying appetite
That what he will he does, and does so much
That proof is call'd impossibility.“ v, 5, 27—29.
„Engaging and redeeming of himself
With such a careless force and forceless care
As if that luck, in very spite of cunning,
Bade him win all.“ v, 5, 39—42.

Enter Pandarus.

Pand. But heare you? heare you?

Troy. Hence broker, lackie, ignomy, and shame

Pursue thy life and live aye with thy name."

Then immediately follows the Epilogue, spoken by Pandarus. This repetition cannot be a mere accident of the printer's office especially since the two passages are not exactly the same, and since the Epilogue comes in much better at the end of v, 3, than at the end of v, 10. Moreover, I shall show when I treat of the sources of *Troilus* and *Cressida* that in the method of using material there is a sharp line drawn between the Prologue and v, 4—10 on the one hand and the rest of the play on the other. I conclude, then, that scenes 7 to 10 in Act v are not by Shakspeare, but by some nameless author; and that the Prologue and scenes 4 to 6 in Act v are mainly by the same man, but include more or less Shakspearean work.

The Prologue, as we have seen, must have been written at the same time as the main part of the play, soon after the appearance of the Poetaster. Its omission from the quarto editions is not at all strange; such things frequently happened in connection with Elizabethan plays. But the Prologue is identical in style with v, 4—6, and v, 4—6 is in turn very closely connected in style and subject-matter with v, 7—10. Hence we may conclude that the Prologue and v, 4—10 were added to the original play either before or very shortly after its first appearance upon the public stage; and that the play as we have it is the joint work of Shakspeare and an assistant, and was produced late in 1601 or in 1602.

But, the advocates of the revision-theory say, the play contains contradictions which compel us to assume that it was written at two or more different times. These contradictions can all be explained away." They have been enumerated by Stache (*Das Verhältniss* etc.; pp. 4—5).

I. *Cressida* is in *Calchas'* house in iv, 1, 37, but in *Pandar's* in iv, 2, 53. This is not, rightly considered, a contradiction at all; for in Chaucer's *Troilus* and *Criseyde*, the source of this part of the play, *Cressida* ordinarily resides at *Calchas'*

house, but her first night with Troilus is spent at Pandar's. This is exactly the condition of things in our play.

II. Cressida is in the tent of Menelaus in iv, 5, 279; in that of Calchas in v, 1. This is no necessary contradiction; for in the former passage we read that Diomed is to sup with Calchas, no mention of Menelaus' presence at the table being made; in v, 1, Diomed finds only Calchas and Cressida at home. The expression „Calchas' tent“ does not necessarily mean that he owned the tent, but merely that he lived there.

III. A „dull and long-continued truce“ exists in i, 3, 262 and in iv, 1, 11. In i, 1 and 2, in ii, 3, 172 and 272, and in v, 1, fighting is going on. The mention of the capture of Antenor in iii, 3, 17 also contradicts the existence of a truce. Stache rightly says that Daniel's hypothesis that a six-months' truce intervened between i, 2 and i, 3 will not work. The contradiction is due simply to dramatic condensation. In Caxton's Recuyell, as I shall show, Shakspeare found the exchange of Cressida and Hector's visit to the Greeks taking place during a six-months' truce. In reducing the time of the play from several years to a few days, he has almost necessarily mingled the events of the truce with those of the time of war in a very confusing way. The contradiction does not in the least indicate revision.

IV. Although the war has lasted seven years, Cressida does not know the Trojan heroes, and Pandarus carefully points them out to her (i, 2). The scene is obviously inserted to introduce to us the Trojan warriors. Dramatic effectiveness would be destroyed if Cressida knew them.

V. Hector does not know the Greeks (iv, 5); but Aeneas knew Diomed in battle (iv, 1, 9), and Nestor recognized Hector even in a helmet (v, 5, 20). The scene with Hector in the Greek camp would lose much in effectiveness if it were resolved into a meeting of old friends, even if on opposite sides in the war. The very point of the whole matter lies in the fact that this is the first greeting of men who have known each other only as terrible names. The contradiction is amply justified by dramatic necessity, and is no evidence of revision. The first argument of the advocates of the revision-theory thus disappears.

Their second argument is that a few speeches of the Troilus-story are written in the tone of Shakspeare's early style. Their pet illustration is the following passage:

„I tell thee I am mad
 In Cressid's love; thou answer'st ,she is fair';
 Pour'st in the open ulcer of my heart
 Her eyes, her hair, her cheek, her gait, her voice,
 Handlest in thy discourse, O, that her hand,
 In whose comparison all whites are ink,
 Writing their own reproach, to whose soft seizure
 The cygnet's down is harsh and spirit of sense
 Hard as the palm of ploughman; this thou tell'st me,
 As true thou tell'st me, when I say I love her;
 But, saying thus, instead of oil and balm,
 Thou lay'st in every gash that love hath given me
 The knife that made it.“ i, 1, 51—63.

Careful consideration, however, shows that this is not in Shakspeare's early style; for Shakspeare's early style is characterized by frequency of rhymed and end-stopt lines, and rarity of feminine endings. This passage, on the contrary, contains no rhymes, only 58% of end-stopt lines, and 33% of feminine endings. In this case, the evidence of metre is sufficiently conclusive. Further, the introduction of a few such Romeo-like conceits is absolutely necessitated by Shakspeare's conception of the character of Troilus. The opening of the play exhibits him as a beardless youth of twenty-two,¹⁾ in the throes of his first passionate love. To the delineation of such love on the Elizabethan stage conceits like that quoted were essential. Again, some assert that the scene in which Cressida is kissed by the Greeks shows early work; but if I read the play aright, that scene is absolutely necessary to prepare the spectator for Cressida's infidelity to Troilus, and could not, without violation of dramatic fitness, be expressed except as Shakspeare has expressed it — in flippant rhyme. All the so-called early passages — which are at most few in number — can be explained in like manner as necessary parts of the play.

Thirdly, Fleay, like Simpson, assumes that the so-called „Shakspeare allusion“ in *Histriomastix*¹⁾ necessitates the existence

¹⁾ „That when he shakes his furious speare“ *Hist. ii*, 273.

of some version of Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida* before 1598¹⁾. Halliwell-Phillipps (*Life of Shakespeare*, ii, 301), on the other hand, thinks that „no allusive inference can be safely drawn from the probably accidental use of the words *shakes* and *speare*.“ After careful study of the passage, I fully agree with him. I find in the *Faery Queen* three very similar lines, in which there is no possible allusion to Shakspeare²⁾. Nor do we need to postulate the existence of the Shakspearean play to account for the existence of a burlesque *Troilus and Cressida* in 1599. The story of *Troilus* was well known to every Elizabethan. This is well shown by the fact that in Shakspeare's plays and poems anterior to 1600, the tale is alluded to no less than six times³⁾. Moreover, in April-May, 1599, Dekker and Chettle had written a play called *Troilus and Cressida*. Since the name was later changed to *Agamemnon*, this play must, like Shakspeare's, have contained the story of the Trojan war as well as that of *Troilus*. It is a great pity that it is lost to us. I do not regard the burlesque in *Histrionastix* as a hit at any author of an English version of the story, any more than I regard the burlesque of *Hero and Leander* found in Nashe's *Lenten Stuffe* (p. 261 ff., ed. A. B. Grosart) and in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, as personal attacks upon Musaeus or Marlowe; or any more than I regard the burlesque play *Narcissus* as a personal reflection upon Ovid. The so-called „Shakspeare allusion“ in *Histrionastix*, then, does not invalidate

¹⁾ 1598, because Fleay erroneously thinks that the original production of *Histrionastix* was early in 1599. The Marstonian play was really produced in August of that year.

²⁾ „With that they gan their shivering speares to shake.“ (Bk. iv, Canto ii, stanza xiv.)

„He all enraged his shivering speare did shake.“ (Bk. iv, Canto iii, stanza x.)

„And shivering speare in bloody field first shook.“ (Bk. iii, Canto i, stanza vii.)

So Burns says:

„Where Bruce once ruled the martial ranks,
An' shook his Carrick spear.“ Halloween, stanza 2.

³⁾ *Much Ado* v, 2, 31; *A. Y. L.* iv, 1, 97; *Taming of Shrew* iv, 1, 153; *T. N.* iii, 1, 59; *Lucrece* 1486; *M. of V.* v, 1, 4.

my conclusion that Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida* was not written before 1601.

The arrest of Dekker, one of the authors of the *Troilus and Cressida* played by the Admiral's men, on January 30, 1599, at the suit of the Chamberlain's company, and that of Chettle, his co-worker in that play, on May 2, 1599, at the instance of a certain Ingram, had nothing to do with a Chamberlain's play called *Troilus and Cressida*. There was no law to prevent two companies giving plays on the same subject; and, further, Dekker and Chettle's play actually was not written until April-May, 1599. It cost Chettle only £ 1 for release; doubtless the matter was a small debt. Dekker had to pay £ 3, 10s. We learn of both matters from Henslowe's Diary.

I have, then, disposed of all the arguments tending to cast doubt on my conclusion that *Troilus and Cressida* was not written before the last months of 1601. The arguments that the play was remodeled after 1602 are based solely on two things: first, the "worldly wisdom" shown by the Greek chieftains; and secondly, the statement of the second quarto that the play had never been „clapperclawed by the palms of the vulgar“. The first argument is settled in a word; for surely the speeches of Ulysses show no deeper experience than those in *Hamlet*, 1601—2, and *Julius Caesar*, 1602.² The second is unworthy of much confidence. When publishers did not hesitate to ascribe plays falsely to popular authors in order to insure their sale, they surely would not demur at saying falsely that a play had not been acted. The motive was sufficiently evident; an unacted play by an author so popular as Shakspeare was in 1609 would be likely to bring money. Only very slight changes, or perhaps none at all, are implied in Bonian and Walley's preface. That no great alterations can have been made, at least in the verse-lines, I have already proved. If any changes were effected, they consisted in omissions rather than in insertions. I shall recur to this point.

We may, then, with reasonable confidence, assign the play to 1602 or the last months of 1601.

In order to demonstrate the genesis of the characters in *Troilus and Cressida*, and the possibilities of personal satire

contained in it, I must discuss the sources of the play at considerable length.

It has generally been assumed without demonstration that the Troilus-story of Shakspeare's Troilus and Cressida was derived from Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde. Sommer, however, asserts the contrary (Introduction to Caxton's Recuyell, 1894, xlv); and Stache decides that „the differences between the stories of Chaucer and Shakspeare are so great that we cannot ascribe them to the necessities of dramatic action.“ (Das Verhältniss, etc., Nordhausen, 1893, p. 14). Nevertheless, it is easy to show that Shakspeare used Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde as the main source of the Troilus story (i, 1, 2; iii, 1, 2; iv, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (12—63); v, 2, 3 (95—end)).

The whole character of Pandarus, the middle-aged uncle of Cressida, with his frequent jests and real affection for both Troilus and Cressida, is taken directly from Chaucer's „japing“ Pandarus. In Caxton's Recuyell not even the name of Pandarus occurs in connection with the Troilus story; in Lydgate's Troye-book the name occurs only in a very brief summary (33 lines) of Chaucer's story. Both Lydgate and Caxton refer the reader to Chaucer for a full account.

The character of Troilus, too, shows an enthusiastic dreaminess like that of Chaucer's young lover; this is combined with the stern, warrior-like qualities corresponding to Caxton's characterization of Troilus.

The incidents of the story, moreover, everywhere show the influence of Chaucer's expanded narrative.

The scene in which the Trojan heroes pass and Pandarus points them out to Cressida, with especial commendation of Troilus (i, 2, 197 ff.), is suggested by the passages in Chaucer in which Cressida watches Troilus come home with battered helmet, amid the acclamations of the people (Chaucer's T. & C. ii, 610—651), and that in which Pandarus makes Troilus ride by the window in which he and Cressida are sitting (ii, 1009 to 1022; 1184—1192; 1247—1288). The expansion is necessary to introduce to us the various Trojan characters of the play.

Pandarus' bringing a letter from Troilus to Cressida (i, 2, 305—7) is from Chaucer (ii, 1002—1204).

The mental confusion of Troilus and Cressida at their first meeting (iii, 2, 21 ff.) is suggested by Chaucer's description of the first meeting of the lovers (ii, 1751—1757; iii, 50—203); Cressida's declaration of her love, by Chaucer iii, 1239; and the last of the same scene (iii, 2), by Chaucer's account of how Pandarus finally brought the lovers together (iii, 952—1253).

Calchas' demand that Antenor be exchanged for Cressida (iii, 3, 1—37) is also influenced by Chaucer (iv, 64—133); for in both Lydgate and Caxton, Antenor is exchanged for Thoas, while Cressida is sent to the Greeks in response to their request; in Chaucer Thoas (Toas) is barely mentioned (iv, 138).

Cressida's protestation of fidelity (iv, 2, 105 ff.) is suggested by Chaucer iv, 1534—1554.

In iv, 4, 78—9, Troilus makes the following remarkable speech:

„The Grecian youths are full of quality;
They're loving, well composed with gifts of nature,
Flowing and swelling o'er with arts and exercise.
..... I cannot sing,
Nor heel the high lavot, nor sweeten talk,
Nor play at subtle games.“

This is suggested by Chaucer's words:

„Ye shul eek seen so many a lusty knight
Among the Grekes, ful of worthinesse,
And eche of hem with herte, wit, and might
To plesen yow don al his besinesse,
That ye shul dullen of the rudenesse
Of us sely Trojanes, but-if rounthe
Remorde yow, or vertu of your trouthe.“ iv, 1485—1491.

Cressida's letter, received by Troilus as an aggravation of her unfaithfulness (v, 3, 108—112), is from Chaucer v, 1590 ff.

Troilus' threats at Diomed are paralleled in Chaucer v, 1702 ff.

Shakspeare's play, then, follows the order of Chaucer's story exactly, contains many passages obviously suggested by it, adopts the character of Pandarus from it without change, and owes to it one aspect of the character of Troilus.

It is true that Shakspeare's play shows many and great variations from Chaucer's poem; but all those variations can be traced to just two causes. (1) Shakspeare modified the char-

acter of Cressida to accord with the traditional notion that she was fickle and light from the beginning; this explains the introduction of the scene in which all the Greek generals kiss Cressida, and the flippancy with which the character is always treated. In Shakspeare's day, a treatment of the story so palliative of Cressida's character as was Chaucer's would have been impossible. (2) Shakspeare found it necessary to shorten the story tremendously, in order to crowd it into the compass of a few scenes in a play. This crowding of itself would have shown Cressida as the "quintessence of infidelity"; for it puts into the space of a few days the passion and changes of years.

The story cannot have been taken from Caxton's *Recuyell*, for there the whole story of Troilus' love for Breseyda, Diomed's mission, her favour to him, and her arrival at Calchas' tent, is told in just 27 lines (Sommer's edition, pp. 603—4), with no mention of Pandarus. Lydgate's account is but little fuller, and mentions none of the details which I have shown to be found in both Shakspeare and Chaucer.

The „Camp-story“ of the play has long been known to be derived either from Caxton's *Recuyell* or Lydgate's *Troye-book*; but, so far as I know, it has never been definitely settled from which it came, since the narrative is the same in both. Sommer says, „from Lydgate's *Troye-book* or still more likely from Caxton's *Recuyell*“ (*Recuyell* xlv); Fleay (*Ingleby's Shakespeare: the Man and the Book, Part ii*) says, „from Caxton's *Recuyell*“ (without an attempt at proof); Delius (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxi, p. 38), „straight from Lydgate's *Troye-book*“ (referring especially to the names in the Prologue).

It is easy to show that the Prologue and the end of the play, the parts „apparently not written by Shakspeare“, are not from Lydgate, but from Caxton. A comparison of the spellings of the proper names conclusively demonstrates this:

Folio of 1623.	Caxton.	Lydgate.
Dardan Prol. 16	Dardane p. 507	Dardanydes Book ii
Timbria Prol. 16	Tymbria p. 507	Tymbrya Book ii
Helias Prol. 16	Helyas p. 507	Helyas Book ii
Chetas Prol. 16	Chetas p. 507	Cetheas Book ii

Folio of 1623.	Caxton.	Lydgate.
Troien Prol. 16	Troyenne p. 507	Troiana Book ii
Antenonidus ¹⁾ Prol. 17	Antenorides p. 507	Antinorydes Book ii
Polidamus v, 5, 6	Polidamus p. 576	Pollydamas and Polli- damas Bk. iii
Margarēlon v, 5, 7 ²⁾	Margareton p. 588	Margarȳton Bk. iii
Doreus v, 5, 8	Doreus p. 599	Dorus, Dorius Bk. iii
Epistropus v, 5, 11	Epistropus p. 599	Epystrophus Bk. iii
Cedns v, 5, 11	Cedus, Cedeus p. 599	Cedius, Cedyus Bk. iii
Polixines v, 5, 11	Polixenes p. 600	Pollicenes Bk. iii
Amphimacus v, 5, 12	Amphymacus p. 599	Amphymacus Bk. iii
Thous (mistake) v, 5, 12	Thoas p. 596	Thoas Bk. iii
Palamedes v, 5, 13	Palamydes p. 596	Pallamydes Bk. iii
„The dreadful Sagittary“ v, 5, 14	„Sagittary“ pp. 567, 597, 600	„Archer“ Bk. iii
Galathe v, 5, 20	Galathe pp. 577, 580, 584, 600	Gallathe Bk. iii

In no single case, then, does Lydgate's spelling correspond with Shakspeare's while Caxton's differs from it. In about a dozen cases, on the other hand, Caxton's spelling coincides with Shakspeare's while Lydgate's is different. The mention of the „Sagittary“ alone is conclusive evidence that Caxton, rather than Lydgate, was the source; for the word does not occur in Lydgate.

Thus far we have discussed those names only that occur in the probably non-Shakspearean part of the play. Our evidence for the Shakspearean portion is far less striking, for the reason that scarcely any names occur there that were not common in Elizabethan speech. In the absence of any evidence that Shakspeare used Lydgate and in the presence of very positive evidence that Shakspeare's collaborator did not, the single name Polixena (iii, 3, 208) is enough to prove that Shakspeare's source was Caxton; for Caxton reads „Polixena“, „Polixene“, and „Polyxena“, while Lydgate uses only „Pollicene“.

¹⁾ Antenonidus must be a mere mistake. The French Recueil has Aminorides.

²⁾ In Caxton's type, the t very closely resembles some forms of the l. Hence the l in Margarelon.

Most of the prominent characters in the play correspond to those depicted in Caxton's *Recnyell*¹⁾.

„Agamenon“, says Caxton, „was longe and whyte of body / strong of membres and well fourmed / louyng labour / discrete. hardy And passing well bespoken.“ p. 541.

„Menelaus was of mene stature hardy in Armes and corageous.“ p. 541.

„Achilles was of right grete beaulte / blonke heeris & cryspe gray eyen and grete / of Amyable sighte / large brestes and brodes holdres grete Armes his raynes hyghe ynowh / an hyghe man of grete stature / and had no pareyll ne like to hym amonge alle the grekes / desiryng to fighte / large in yefes And outeageous in dispense.“ p. 541.

This description corresponds exactly to Shakspeare's except for the element of pride, taken from Homer's delineation of Achilles seen in Chapman's translation.

„Vlixes was the moste fayr man among all the grekes / But he was deceyuable (i. e., deceptive) And subtyll. And sayd his thynges Ioyously. He was a right grete lyar And was so well bespoken that he had none felawe ne like to hym.“ p. 541.

This corresponds exactly with Shakspeare's Ulysses.

„Dyomedes was grete And had a brode breste and meruayllous stronge / of a fiers regard and sight / false in his promesses / worthy in Armes / desirous of victorye dredde and redoubted / For he was gretly Iniuryous to his seruantes Luxuriyous wherfore he suffryd many paynes.“ pp. 541—2.

Allowing for the difference in point of view, this answers exactly to Thersites' description of him:

„That same Diomed's a false-hearted rogue, a most unjust knave; I will no more trust him when he leers than I will a serpent when he hisses; he will spend his mouth and promise like Brabblers the hound; but when he performs, astronomers foretell it; it is prodigious, there will come some change; the sun borrows of the moon, when Diomed keeps his word.“ v, 1, 98 ff.

Shakspeare adds:

„He rises on the toe; that spirit of his
In aspiration lifts him from the earth.“ iv, 5, 15—16.

Doubtless this last is an allusion to the gait of the actor who was to play the part²⁾. Yet on the strength of Thersites'

¹⁾ All except Pandarus, from Chaucer, Thersites and Nestor, from Chapman's Homer, Cressida from common tradition, and Ajax, to be discussed later.

²⁾ Rümelin (Shakespeare-Studien, Stuttgart, 1874) remarks that Diomed's

speech, which corresponds exactly with Caxton, and this last touch, Stache (*Das Verhältniss* etc.) declares that Diomedes is certainly a personal hit.

„Ther was none so hardy as was hector the oldest sone of kyng pryant / This was he that passid in his tyme alle other knyghtes in puyssance / and was a lityll besgue (stammering) he was grete / And had hard membres and myght souffre moche payne And was moche heery and crispe / and lisped Ther yssued neuer oute of troye so stronge a man ne so worthy Ne ther yssued neuer oute of his mouthe a vyllaynous worde. He was neuer wery of fightyng in bataylle. Ther was neuer knyght better belouyd / of his peple than he was.“ p. 543.

Of course, Shakspeare omits the impediment in Hector's speech; he insists on Hector's generosity toward his opponents — a generosity brought out in the narrative of Caxton, though not in the description; in all other respects his Hector is like Caxton's.

„Troilus was grete and of grete corage well attempryd and sore belouyd of yonge maydens In force and gladnesse he resamblid moche to hector And was the seconde after hym of prowesse And ther was not in alle the Royame a more strong ne more hardy yong man.“ p 543.

This is very general. Shakspeare's characterization is more individual:

„The youngest son of Priam, a true knight,
Not yet mature, yet matchless, firm of word,
Speaking in deeds, and deedless in his tongue;
Not soon provoked, nor being provoked soon calmed;
His heart and hand both open and both free;
For what he has he gives, what thinks he shows;
Yet gives he not till judgment guide his bounty,
Nor dignifies an impair thought with breath;
Manly as Hector, but more dangerous;
For Hector in his blaze of wrath subscribes
To tender objects, but he in heat of action
Is more vindicative than jealous love.“ iv, 5, 96 ff.

This is, however, consonant with Caxton's description. The Romeo-like qualities mingled with the Hector-like in Shakspeare's Troilus are derived, as I have said, from Chaucer's poem.

rising on the toe is comparable to Hamlet's fatness and scantness of breath, and that it must refer to the actor or to „some well known man struck at under this mask.“ p. 154.

The following incidents are derived from Caxton:

Paris has returned from the battle-field wounded by Menelaus (i, 1, 112—115). So Caxton, p. 595.

Ajax is Hector's cousin-german in iv, 5, 121 and iv, 5, 83; his nephew (i. e., cousin) in i, 2, 13. The relationship is explained in Caxton, p. 589; Ajax was the son of Priam's sister Exione.

„This dull and long-continued truce“ (i, 3, 262 and iv, 1, 11) comes from Caxton, p. 601.

The speeches of Hector, Paris, Helenus, Troilus, and Cassandra in ii, 2, are closely paralleled in Caxton — Hector's in 518—520, Paris' in 520—522, Helenus' in 523, Troilus' in 524, and Cassandra's in 526—7. Although in Caxton the subject under discussion is not the return of Helen, but the project of taking reprisal on the Greeks for their abduction of Priam's sister Exione, the resemblances in the speeches extend even into details.

In the play, these speeches are made in the course of the discussion of the Greeks' proposition to surrender all other claims in return for the surrender of Helen. It is noteworthy that in Caxton (pp. 556—562) „the grekes sente Dyomedes and Ulixes unto the kynge Pryant for to haue agayn helayne.“

„ It was thought meet

Paris should do some vengeance on the Greeks;

Your breath of full consent bellied his sails.“ ii, 2, 72 ff.

In Caxton (p. 526) „Parys was comysed for to go in to grece wyth men of Armes“ by a popular parliament.

„If you'll confess he (Paris) brought home noble prize,

As you must needs, for you all clapped your hands,

And cried Inestimable.“ ii, 2, 86 ff.

„And whan they (Paris and Helen) cam nyghe the cyte they fonde grete foyson of peple. That made grete feste of theyr comyng in many maners of Instrumentis of musycque / And in suche Ioye cam vnto the pallays of kynge Pryant / And he hym self lighte a doun and helpe helayne doun of her palefroye And lad her by the hande vnto wythin the halle / And there they made ryght grete Ioye alle the nyght thurgh oute alle the cyte for these tidynges.“ Cax., p. 536.

„And for an old aunt whom the Greeks held captive“ (ii, 2, 77) and „Thy mother, my sacred aunt“ (Hector to Ajax in

iv, 5, 133) are explained by Caxton's account of the captivity of Exione (p. 505, et passim). Compare, for example, „the seruytude of your Aunte Exione“, p. 517.

The love of Achilles for Polyxena (iii, 3, 193 ff.), which love is the main cause of his refusal to fight against Troy, is taken from Caxton, pp. 621—641. Achilles has

„a woman's longing,
An appetite that I am sick withal,
To see great Hector in his weeds of peace,
To talk with him and to behold his visage,
Even to my full of view.“ iii, 3, 237 ff. Also iv, 5, 152.

He invites Hector to his tent (iv, 5, 230), looks him over very carefully in order to discover in what part of the body he may slay him (iv, 5, 241 ff.), and at Hector's challenge agrees to meet him in the field the next day (iv, 5, 266 ff.). Caxton says:

„The triews duryng hector wente hym on a day vnto the tentes of the Grekes And Achylles behelde hym gladly for as meche as he had neuer seen hym vnarme / And at the requeste of Achylles Hector wente to hys tente / And as they spack to geder of many thyng / Achylles sayde to hector / I haue grete playsir to see the vnarmed for as moche as I had neuer seen the to fore / But yet I shall haue more playsir / Whan the day shall come that thou shalt dye of my hande Whyche thyng I moste desire.“ p. 602.

Hector immediately challenges Achilles to mortal combat, under agreement that the war shall be decided by the issue. Achilles at once accepts (p. 603). The combat is prevented by Agamemnon and the other Greek chiefs (p. 603).

Although the combat between Hector and Ajax seems mainly derived from Chapman's Homer, it may have been in part suggested by Hector's challenge to Achilles in Caxton. Hector's reason for refusing to continue the fight after the heralds stop it (iv, 5, 118) is not lack of time, as in Homer, but the relationship of Ajax to him. This relationship, as I have already shown, Shakspere learned from Caxton. The account of the termination of the duel was influenced by Caxton's story (pp. 589—590) that Hector once stopped a battle when in full tide of victory, because his opponent Ajax, then unknown to him, told of his relationship, and begged Hector to cease fighting.

Shakspere's whole story of the visit of Hector and Troilus to the Grecian camp is evidently expanded from Caxton's account of Hector's visit to the Greeks during the truce.

Hector mentions (iv, 5, 214 ff.) the embassy of Ulysses and Diomed to Troy at the beginning of the war. The account of that embassy is found in Caxton, pp. 556—562.

Achilles is prevented from entering into battle with Hector by a letter from Hecuba urging him by his love for Polyxena to keep his oath not to fight against Troy (v, 1, 42 ff.). Hecuba sends him a precisely similar message in Caxton 623—4.

The entire scene in which Andromache, Cassandra, and Priam unite to prevent Hector from going into the battle (v, 3) is taken from Caxton 610—612, except that in Caxton Cassandra is replaced by „the quene hecuba & the quene helayne and the susters of hector“.

Thus far we have been dealing with the work of Shakspere; we now enter upon that of his collaborator, who, as we shall see, followed Caxton in the minutest details.

In the play, Diomed presents Troilus' horse to Cressida:

„Go, go, my servant, take thou Troilus' horse;
Present the fair steed to my lady Cressid;
Fellow, commend my service to her beauty;
Tell her I have chastised the amorous Trojan,
And am her knight by proof.“ v, 5, 1 ff.

„Dyomedes . . fought with troillous and smote hym down and toke hys horse / and sente hit to breseyda. And dyde do saye to her by his seruant / that hit was troyllus horse her loue / that he had beten hym by his prowesse / and prayd her fro than forth on that she wold holde hym for her love and frende.“ p. 608.

Chaucer merely says:

„And after this the story telleth us
That she (Criseyde) him (Diomede) yaf the faire baye stede,
The which he ones wan of Troilus.“ v, 1036—8.

As I have shown, the numerous names in v, 5, 5—29 come from the account of the battles in Caxton 578—600.

Achilles' attack upon Hector and Hector's forbearance in permitting him to retire (v, 6, 13—19) were evidently suggested by the account of Achilles' attack upon Hector and retirement after being wounded by him (Cax. p. 613). In both the play

and the history the incident occurs just before Hector's death.

Hector's pursuit and slaying of a gorgeously armed Greek and his subsequent partial disarming come from Caxton. The play says:

„Stand, stand, thou Greek; thou art a goodly mark.
No? wilt thou not? I like thy armour well;
I'll frush¹⁾ it and unlock the rivets all,
But I'll be master of it; wilt thou not, beast, abide?
Why, then fly on; I'll hunt thee for thy hide.“ v, 6, 27 ff.
„Most putrefied core, so fair without,
Thy goodly armour thus hath cost thy life.
Now is my day's work done; I'll take good breath;
Rest, sword, thou hast thy fill of blood and death.
(Puts off his helmet and hangs his shield behind him).“ v, 8, 1—4.

Caxton says:

„Amonge all these thynges hector had taken a moche noble baron of grece moche queyntly and rychely armed / And for to lede hym oute of the ooste at his ease / had caste his shelde behynde hym at his backe / And had lefte his breste discouerte.“ p. 613.

In both narratives, Hector's carelessness was the direct occasion of his death.

In both the play and Caxton, Hector's combat with Achilles, his capture of the gayly armed Greek, and his death, brought about in unknighly fashion by Achilles, follow closely upon one another. In the play the account is as follows:

„Ach. Come here about me, you my Myrmidons;
Mark what I say. Attend me where I wheel;
Strike not a stroke, but keep yourselves in breath;
And when I have the bloody Hector found,
Empale him with your weapons round about;
In fellest manner execute your aims.
Follow me, sirs, and my proceedings eye;
It is decreed Hector the great must die.“ v, 7, 1—8.
„Ach. Look, Hector, how the sun begins to set;
How ugly night comes breathing at his heels;
Even with the veil and darking of the sun,
To close the day up, Hector's life is done.
Hect. I am unarm'd; forego this vantage, Greek.

¹⁾ The word „frush“ is used several times by Caxton (pp. 22, 157, 213, 466, 480); never by Shakspeare.

Ach. Strike, fellows, strike; this is the man I seek.
Come, tie his body to my horse's tail;
Along the field I will the Trojan trail." v, 8, 5—22.

In Caxton we are merely told that Hector had partially disarmed for greater convenience in carrying away the body of the finely armed Greek; „and as he was in thys poynte and toke none hede of Achylles that cam pryuely vnto hym and putte hys spere wyth in his body / And Hector fyll down dede / to the grounde." p. 613. The Trojans carried away the body. The author of the last scenes of the play, nevertheless, found this account in Caxton, where the story is told not of Hector, but of Troilus:

„Afore that Achilles entryd in to the bataylle he assemblid his myrondones / And prayd hem that they wolde entende to none other thyng but to enclose troyllus and to holde hym wyth oute fleyng tyll he cam And that he wolde not be fer fro hem / . . . The myrondones . . . helde hem to geder & sought no man but troyllus / they fonde hym that he foughte strongly & was enclosid on all parties / but he slewe & wounded many. And as he was all alone amonge hem and had no man to socoure hym / they slewe his horse / And hurte hym in many places / And araced of his heed his helme / And his coyffe of yron / And he deffended hym the beste wyse he cowde / Than cam on Achilles whan he sawe troyllus alle naked / And ran vpon hym in a rage / And smote of his heed And caste hit vnder the feet of the horse / And toke the body and bonde hit to the taylle of his horse And so drewe hit after hym thurgh oute the ooste / O what vylonnye was hit to drawe so the sone of so noble a kynge / that was so worthy and so hardy / Certes yf ony noblesse had ben in Achilles / he wold not have done this vylonye." pp. 638—9.

Evidently the playwright applied all this to Hector because of the currency among the Elizabethans of the Homeric story that Hector was dragged round the walls by Achilles.

Almost inextricably interwoven with the features of the play that are taken from Caxton's *Recuyell* are others derived from the *Iliad*. The *Iliad* was accessible to Shakspere only in Chapman's translation, the first instalment of which appeared in 1598, and comprised Books i, ii, vii, viii, ix, x, xi¹⁾. Shakspere is indebted to it for characters, incidents, and tone.

The name and entire character of Thersites are derived from it. Hertzberg's objection that this cannot be, because

¹⁾ Fleay wrongly says Bks. i—vii. The remainder did not appear until much later.

Shakspeare would have seized upon the demagogical aspect of Thersites, is of no value¹⁾. Shakspeare did not want another orator; he wanted a clown, and carefully and thoroughly developed the ugliness, cowardice, and bitterness of Thersites as eminently fit for his purpose. From this one false idea, Hertzberg concludes that Shakspeare did not use Chapman's *Iliad* at all, and resorts to various fetches to show that he might have found hints of Thersites' character, the combat of Ajax and Hector, etc., in Ovid, Pindarus Thebanus, Juvenal, Seneca, etc. But Shakspeare was not in the habit of using Latin works, or of searching whole libraries for a single feature of a plot.

The characterization of Nestor comes from Chapman. Shakspeare's Nestor is that of Homer — the old counsellor, now weak with age, but rich in the accumulated experience of three generations of men. In Caxton, on the contrary, Nestor is a vigorous warrior, described thus: „The duc Nestor was grete of membrys and longe / and well bespoken / discrete and prouffitable / And gaf alleway good counceyll / Anone and sone he was strongly angry / And sone peasid agayn / he was the moste trewe frend in the world.“ p. 542. The most distinct reference to his age that I can find is that on p. 545 he is called „the ancient duc of the provynce of Pillon.“

The notion of the pride of Achilles seems to be derived from the *Iliad*:

„Would God, Atrides, thy request were yet to undertake;
And all thy gifts unoffer'd him; he's proud enough beside;
But this ambassage thou hast sent will make him hurst with pride.“ Bk. ix.

Caxton does not speak of his pride.

Ulysses' well-known speech of „degree“ (i, 3, 75 ff.) seems to have been suggested by Ulysses' words in Book ii of the *Iliad*:

„We must not all be kings; the rule is most irregular
Where many rule; one lord, one king, propose to thee; and he
To whom wise Saturn's son hath given both law and empery
To rule the public, it that king.“ p. 21, ed. n. d. (1616).

¹⁾ For Hertzberg's articles see preface to T. & C publ. Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, and „Die Quellen der Troilus-Sage in ihrem Verhältniss zu Shakespeares T. & C.“, Shakespeare-Jahrbuch, vi, 169—225 (1871). The objection is endorsed by Schück, „W. Shakspeare, hans lif och Verksamhet“, Stockholm, 1883—4, and W. Bolin, Jahrbuch xxii, 208.

The whimsical picture of Patroclus' impersonation of Nestor „arming to answer in a night alarm“ (i, 3, 171 ff.) was apparently suggested by the passage in Book x of the *Iliad*, in which Agamemnon calls Nestor up at night, and Nestor hurries on his armour (p. 132).

Hector's challenge to single combat with a Greek (i, 3, 261 ff., ii, 2, 208 ff., iv, 5, 63 ff.) is taken from *Iliad*, Book vii, pp. 97—101. This is one of the main motives of the play. As in Shakspeare (i, 3, 373 ff., ii, 1, 140), so in the *Iliad*, the Greek champion is selected by lot, and the lot falls on Ajax; in both, the fight is stopped by heralds; in both, Ajax wishes to fight longer, but Hector says „enough“ and the combatants part friends.

„He shent our messengers“, spoken of Achilles by Agamemnon in ii, 3, 86, seems a reminiscence of the embassy of Phoenix, Ajax, and Ulysses, with heralds, to Achilles, in *Iliad* ix, pp. 119 ff. Agamemnon's proposition to send Ajax to Achilles because Achilles „holds him well“ (ii, 3, 188 ff.), and the actual conference of Ulysses with Achilles in iii, 3, seem also reminiscences of Homer's embassy.

Like Homer, Shakspeare makes the fall of Patroclus arouse Achilles to action.

Finally, the substitution of Hector for Troilus as the unfortunate warrior dragged at the heels of Achilles' horse (v, 8) is made in accordance with the Homeric story — *Iliad* xxii, in 1602 not translated. This is in the non-Shakspearean part of the play. The author probably obtained that bit of knowledge from common conversation.

There exist certain resemblances in single words and phrases between Shakspeare and Chapman. „Thetis' son“ (i, 3, 212; iii, 3, 94); Chapman's *Iliad* pp. 5, 7, 21, 24, 100, 128, 158 (ed. c. 1616). Achilles is never so called in Caxton's *Recnyell*. „Let this be granted, and Achilles' horse Makes many Thetis' sons“ (i, 3, 211) seems to contain a reminiscence of Chapman's „The horse that bore that faultless man (Achilles) were likewise past compare“ Bk. ii, p. 31. The names Myrmidons, Ulysses or Ulisses, and Agamemnon may have been derived from Chapman. Caxton has Myrondones, Lydgate Myrmydones, Chapman Myrmidons; both Caxton and Lydgate write Agamenon, and

Ulixes, while Chapman gives the modern forms. The story of Troy, however, was so familiar in Elizabethan England that we need not suppose any definite written source for Shakspeare's correct spelling of the names.

Finally, the meditative and argumentative tone of the „camp-story“ seems to be caused by familiarity with the oratory of Chapman's Homer.

I conclude, then, that the Troilus story is a free working over of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, showing much dramatic shortening and modification in the character of Cressida to accord with common report; that the remainder of the Shakspearean part of the play was the result of thorough assimilation of Caxton's Recuyell and the portion of Chapman's Iliad then accessible; and that the second author, who wrote the prologue and most of the last seven scenes of the play, slavishly followed Caxton. Of course, it is impossible to say how much our play was influenced by other dramatic presentations of the same story, like the lost play Troilus and Cressida, or Agamemnon, by Dekker and Chettle, 1599.

I have shown the genesis of all the characters except Ajax — Cressida from common tradition, Pandarus from Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, Thersites and Nestor from Chapman's Iliad, Troilus from a combination of Caxton's Recuyell with Chaucer, and all the rest from Caxton. In spite of the assertions of Fleay, Schück, Rümelin, and Stache, then, these characters cannot be personally satirical, at least to a degree recognizable now.

The character of Ajax, on the other hand, is derived from no known source. Ajax Telamon in the Iliad is heroic but colourless in character. In Caxton's Recuyell we find the two Ajaxes described together as follows: „Ajax of grete stature / grete and large in the sholdres grete Armes. And alleway was well clothyd and richely. And was of no grete empyrse. And spack lightly. Thelamon ayax was a moche fayr knyght. He had black heeris. And herd gladly songe And he sange hym self gladly well. He was of grete prowesse. And a good man of warre And with oute pompe.“ p. 541.

In the play, on the other hand, Alexander says that Ajax is „A very man per se and stands alone“ (i, 2, 15—16). He

„hath“, Alexander continues, „robbed many beasts of their particular additions; he is as valiant as the lion, churlish as the bear, slow as the elephant; a man into whom nature hath so crowded humours that his valour is crushed into folly, his folly sauced with discretion; there is no man hath a virtue that he hath not a glimpse of, nor any man an attainment but he carries some stain of it; he is melancholy without cause, and merry against the hair; he hath the joints of everything, but everything so out of joint that he is a gouty Briareus, many hands and no use, or purblind Argus, all eyes and no sight.“ (i, 2, 19—31). He is envious of Achilles (ii, 1, 35—8); in spite of Ulysses' assertion that Ajax „bays at“ Achilles because „Achilles hath inveigled his fool (Thersites) from him“ (ii, 3, 99), Thersites spoke of this envy while he was still with Ajax (i, 2, 35). Ajax is „proud, covetous of praise, surly borne, strange, and self-affected“ (ii, 3, 247 ff.); yet he reprobates the same qualities in Achilles, whereupon Agamemnon remarks: „He will be the physician that should be the patient“. (ii, 3, 223). Again and again he is called dull and foolish (e. g., „blockish“ i, 3, 375; „brainless“ i, 3, 381); yet, Thersites says, there is wit in his head, „but it lies as coldly in him as fire in a flint, which will not show without knocking“ (iii, 3, 256 ff.).

It is evident that neither of Caxton's Ajaxes is the original of the Shakspearean character; not even by a combination of the two can we get anything at all resembling it. Nor can Shakspeare's Ajax have been derived from the Iliad. He is the creation of Shakspeare's own brain.

The elaborate description of Ajax given by Alexander in i, 2, does not interpret the character as seen in the play. In action, Ajax is simply a personally brave but rather stupid man, envious of Achilles, and easily moved by flattery to inordinate self-esteem; in Alexander's description, he is a most complex being. The first part of the scene (lines 1—46) seems to be introduced for the express purpose of making a place for this description; for the defeat of Hector by Ajax, and the consequent wrath of Hector, find no place in Caxton's Recnyell or in the Iliad. The description, then, must have a particular meaning.

It is certain^{nd!} that, as Fleay has suggested, the description applies exactly to Jonson; indeed, it applies to him infinitely better than to Ajax. I believe, then, that the character of Ajax is at least in part a personal hit at Jonson. Since the remaining traits of Ajax's character, envy, pride, covetousness of praise, surliness, and self-conceit — are not even suggested in either Homer or Caxton, and since all these qualities are eminently characteristic of Jonson, they, too, must be personally satirical.

From ii *Return from Parnassus*, we learn that Shakspeare had administered to Jonson „a purge that made him beray his credit“. Is it possible that, as Fleay has guessed, *Troilus and Cressida* contains that purge?

The second part of the *Return from Parnassus* dates from about January 1, 1601/2. We have seen that *Troilus and Cressida* must have been written after the *Poetaster* (about June, 1601), and before February 7, 1602/3. There is no reason why we should not place it between June and December, 1601. Hence, so far as dates go, *Troilus and Cressida* may have contained the „purge“.

Is the satire of the character of Ajax, however, severe enough to deserve the name of „purge“? I think it is. No Elizabethan audience could hear Alexander's description of Ajax without at once thinking of Jonson. Even this description makes *Cressida* „smile“ (i, 2, 32). Later in the play, when Ajax converses with the generals before Achilles' tent (ii, 3) and when he is impersonated by Thersites (iii, 3), he becomes a broadly comic character¹⁾. Jonson was not likely to take such ridicule kindly.

Further, there is a possibility that other satiric passages may have been omitted. The play was refused a license for publication in 1602/3, very possibly because of the personal satire contained in it. The second quarto of 1609 declares that the play (as then printed) had not been acted. Nevertheless,

¹⁾ I regret to say that I believe, that in several passages the name Ajax is so brought in that it could not fail to suggest to an Elizabethan audience the pun on „A jakes“ made popular by Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*. „Ajax goes up and down the field asking for himself“ (iii, 3, 244) is a sure case; less certain are ii, 1, 70; 79; 120; ii, 3, 275; iii, 3, 235.

as we have seen, *Troilus and Cressida* was acted in 1601 or 1602, and shows no trace of subsequent enlargement. If any changes from the acted play were made, they must consist in omissions rather than in additions. It is quite possible that satiric portions had to be left out in order to obtain a license, and that such omissions are the basis of Bonian and Walley's declaration. I attach, however, very little weight to this supposition, since the statement of the editors of the quarto may be only an advertising scheme, and since the refusal of license in 1602/3 may have been due to a remonstrance by the Chamberlain's company — „the grand possessors“ who in 1609 opposed the publication of the play¹⁾.

I conclude, then, that *Troilus and Cressida* was certainly produced between June, 1601 and February, 1602/3, and probably in the autumn of 1601; that it contains no recognizable personal satire except that the character of Ajax is a hit at Jonson, possibly rendered less palpable by the omission of some satiric passages; and that very likely this play is the „purge“ mentioned by Kempe in ii *Return from Parnassus*.

I hardly need to say that I do not agree as to the main purpose of the play with Ulrici, who regarded it as a satire on the ideas held by Greek antiquity (*Über Shakspeare's dramatische Kunst*, Halle, 1839, p. 362), Schlegel, who thought it a satire on the mediaeval romances of Troy (*Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*, Heidelberg, 1817, iii, 178), Rümelin (*Shakespeare-Studien*, Stuttgart, 1874, p. 154) and

¹⁾ Tieck (German translation of Shakspeare, Berlin, 1832, vii, 373) and Knight (*Pictorial Shakspeare*, Boston, 1853, viii, 387 ff.) both thought that „the grand possessors“ meant not the Chamberlain's company, but some noblemen, perhaps even the king himself, for whom the play had been privately presented. Knight absurdly misinterprets „thank fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you, since by the grand possessors' wills I believe you should have prayed for them rather than been prayed.“ Bonian and Walley's Preface. Knight makes „them“ refer to „grand possessors“, whereas the connection clearly shows that it refers to „comedies“, several lines above. This correction takes away one of his main arguments. His whole theory falls flat when we look at the Epilogue and the lines at the end of Act iii; for both must surely have been spoken to the audience of a public theatre. Tieck's and Knight's idea seems to have been generally abandoned.

Fleay (*Life of Shakespeare*, London, 1886, pp. 220—4), both of whom regard the play as a tissue of personal satire, or Furnivall, who thinks it perhaps a covert attack on Chapman, the translator of Homer (*Leopold Shakespeare*, p. lxxxi). I think, as I have already indicated, that it is a play written primarily for the entertainment of the people, but including one piece of personal satire.

ANTONY MONDAY.

Monday was born in 1553—4. In 1576 he was apprenticed to a stationer for eight years, but in 1578 he journeyed to Italy. On his return, he went upon the stage, played extempore, and was hissed off. After writing a ballad against plays, he acted for the Earl of Oxford's company until about 1584. From that time until 1592 he was Messenger of Her Majesty's Chamber. From 1605 to 1616 we know that he was chief City-pageant writer; doubtless he really obtained the office about 1592, for in 1618 he said that he had been twenty-six years in the „City's service“. He died in August 1633. His non-dramatic works are very numerous, one dating as early as 1577. They include ballads, political treatises in connection with the execution of the Papist Edmund Campion, songs, romances, translations, and, in his later life, additions to Stow's Survey of London. He also wrote many plays, of which only a few survive.

In Monday's works, I have found not the least allusion to the great stage-quarrel. It is certain, however, that he was attacked by Jonson in the character of Antonio (called also Antony) Balladino in the Case is Altered, about December, 1598. Antonio appears only in the first scene, and has nothing to do with the action of the play. He introduces himself as follows:

„Ant. My name is Antonio Balladino.

Onion. Balladino? you are not pageant poet to the city of Milan, sir, are you?

Ant. I supply the place, sir, when a worse cannot be had, sir . . . Why, I'll tell you, master Onion, I do use as much stale stuff, though I say it myself, as any man does in that kind, I am sure. Did you see the last pageant I set forth?

Oni. No, faith, sir, but there goes a huge report on't.

Ant. Why, you shall be one of my Maecen-asses; I'll give you one

of the books; O you'll like it admirably Why, look you, sir, I write so plain, and keep that old decorum, that you must of necessity like it; marry, you shall have some now (as for example in plays) that will have every day new tricks, and write you nothing but humours¹⁾; indeed, this pleases the gentlemen, but the common sort, they care not for't; they know not what to make on't; they look for good matter, they, and are not edified with such toys. . . They would have me make such plays; but as I tell them, an they'll give me £ 20 a play, I'll not raise my vein

Oni. No, it were a vain thing an you should, sir.

Ant. Tut, give me the penny, give me the penny²⁾; I care not for the gentlemen, I; let me have a good ground, no matter for the pen, the plot shall carry it

Oni. Indeed, that's right; you are in print already for the best plotter³⁾.

Ant. Ay, and I might as well have been put in for a dumb-show, too.⁴⁾
(i, 1).

The name Antonio Ballad-ino is in itself enough to show that Antony Monday the ballad-writer is meant. The words „you are in print already for the best plotter“ make the application absolutely certain; for Meres had called Monday „our best plotter“. Of course this identification is accepted by all critics.

As I have already said, I believe that if the Posthaste of the original *Histriomastix* of 1596 was personally satirical at all it was meant for Monday. Provided that none of the passages in question were interpolated by Marston, Posthaste appears in the old portion of the play as a retired ballad-maker, good at extemporaneous versifying (v, 91—2; vi, 235; i, 127; ii, 121, 126, 291—319); he is the author of a new play of the *Prodigal Child* (ii, 92 ff.); he is fond of liquor (ii, 103, 115, 319; vi, 222); he claims to be a gentleman on the ground that, although he has no horse, he has „a clean shirt on, with some learning“ (ii, 212, 214—15); and he pretends to have political skill (i, 128; ii, 130). None of these particulars except the last is especially individual, and even that may have been a general attack on the players for meddling in public matters⁴⁾.

¹⁾ An allusion to Jonson himself, and his *Every Man in his Humour*.

²⁾ That is, the penny paid for admission to the theater, without seats.

³⁾ In Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, entered S. R. September, 1598.

⁴⁾ Compare *Poetaster* iii, 1, p. 314, where Tucca says to *Histrio*: „Do not bring your Aesop, your politician.“

Nevertheless, the particulars cited correspond closely with the facts of the life of Monday. In 1596, he had commenced his dramatic career; he had previously written ballads¹⁾; before he ceased to act about 1584, he had played extempore, and been hissed from the stage. In 1581—2 he had been connected with the Campion affair. He was later Messenger of Her Majesty's Chamber and for many years „in the service of the City“. Although he did not, so far as we know, write a moral play on the Prodigal Child, he did write several religious books — e. g., *The Godly Exercise of Christian Families*, 1586.

The fact, however, that the character of the original Posthaste corresponds very closely with that of a typical player presented to us in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, 1592, adds much to the probability that the original Posthaste was not personally but generally satirical. Greene's words are these:

„Nay, more (quoth the player), I can serve to make a pretty speech, for I was a country author; passing at a moral, for it was I that penned the moral of *Man's Wit*, the *Dialogue of Dives*, and for seven years' space was absolute interpreter of the puppets. But now my almanac is out of date.

The people make no estimation

Of morals teaching education.

Was not this pretty for a plain rhyme extempore?“ *Greene's Works*, Huth Library, ed. Grosart, xii, 132²⁾.

I have shown that the facts of Monday's life accord with the character of Posthaste in the old *Histriomastix*. In 1599, Marston added several details that make the application to Monday inevitable. Fleay says (Chr. ii, 70—1) that Posthaste is Monday, but as usual hardly attempts to prove his case. Penniman accepts Fleay's identification almost without discussion (War 43). Other critics, as we have seen, identify Posthaste with Shakspeare.

Marston tells us that Posthaste is a „peaking pageanter“ who writes „peaceth“ and affects alliteration (iv, 161 ff.); that he will furnish plays cheaply (iii, 187); that he uses „no new luxury or blandishment, But plenty of old England's mothers'

¹⁾ E. g., *Encouragement of an English Soldier*, 1580; *Against Plays*, 1580; *Untruss*, 1584; compare Jonson's *Antonio „Balladino“*.

²⁾ There is no reason for identifying this Player with any individual man.

words" (ii, 128—9); that his writing will serve the multitude (iii, 188); but that „The gentlemen see into our trade; we cannot gull them with brown-paper stuff" (iv, 193—4); and that consequently „it is as dangerous to read his name at a play-door, as a printed bill on a plague-door" (iv, 167, 168).

Now turn to the character of Antonio Balladino, which is by all confessed to be a caricature of Antony Monday. Antonio describes himself as pageant-poet to the city, and a writer of stale stuff. He writes so plain and keeps such „old decorum" that the common sort must of necessity like it, although the gentlemen prefer the new-fangled poetry of humours. He will not raise his vein if they will give him £ 20 a play. The correspondence between Jonson's characterization of Balladino-Monday and Marston's sketch of Posthaste is perfect. Taking this correspondence in connection with the known fact that Monday, like Posthaste, was a dramatist, a retired ballad-writer, an extemporaneous-verse-maker, a writer of moral books, and a politician, I am forced to the conclusion that Marston meant the character of Posthaste as a personal satire on Monday.

Fleay believes that in the original version of Jonson's *A Tale of a Tub, In-and-In Medlay* was meant for Monday (Chr. i, 370). I think it very unlikely; at any rate, it is now impossible to prove it, because in the 1633 revision of the play, which alone we possess, Jonson made the character into a satire on Inigo Jones.

In-and-In Medlay, as we see him at the first of the play, is the „cooper of Islington", and a very boor. His ignorance is illustrated by his inquiry as to who Saint Valentine was (i, 2) and by the following speech:

„Masters, take heed, let us not vind too many;
One is enough to stay the hangman's stomach;
There is John Clay, who is yvound already, . . .
As spruce as any neighbour's child among you;
And he, you zee, is taken on conspition,
And two or three, they zay, what call you 'em?
Zuch as the justices of coram nobis
Grant — I forget their names, you have many on 'em
Master high Constable, they come to you —

I have it at my tongue's ends — coney-burrows —
 To bring him straight avore the zessions-house " iii, 1¹⁾.

Until scene 2 of act iv, there is no indication of personal satire in the character; for the remainder of the play, In-and-In Medlay the cooper becomes In-and-In Medlay the joiner, and is throughout a satire upon Inigo Jones. His godsire was In-and-In Shittle, a weaver. In-and-In Medlay is a joiner, or rather „architectonicus professor“, that is, an architect (iv, 2). Inigo Jones' father was Inigo Jones, a cloth-worker. Inigo the son was probably in his youth a joiner; but by 1600 he had become an architect (Fleay Chr. i, 308). „In-and-In“ is of course a pun upon Inigo; compare Jonson's designation of Inigo Jones as „Iniquo Vitruvius“ in *Love's Welcome*, a masque of 1634. In-and-In the joiner of Islington is „the only man at a disguise in Middlesex“. He will write as well as stage the Masque of a Tub, for he „draws with no other in's project“. „Feasible“ and „conduce“ are his „ruling words“. He assures Squire Tub that he can „express“ not only one Tub, but, „if need be, a wash-house, with a whole pedigree of Tubs“, for he has studied „ingine“ ever since he first „join'd or did in-lay in wit, some forty year“ (v, 2). All this corresponds exactly with what we know of Jones. He must have commenced work just about forty years before the 1633 production of *A Tale of a Tub*; for in 1593 he was twenty years old. He was noted for his self-conceit, for his desire to have the whole management of a masque in his own hands, and for his skill in mechanical contrivances.

The entire character of In-and-In the joiner, as distinguished from In-and-In the cooper, must therefore belong to the 1633 version of the play. For any hints with regard to the character of the original cooper we must look to the first three acts of the play. Here we find absolutely nothing to indicate any personal satire. On the other hand, everything points to the conclusion that in the original play Diogenes Scriben wrote the masque, as he is asked to do even in the extant version, and that In-and-In (of course known by some other name)

¹⁾ He means „warrants“; „coney-burrows“ are warrens.

simply constructed the necessary tub. The cooper, like the name Diogenes, was suggested by the title *A Tale of a Tub*. The character was probably not a personal satire at all, and almost certainly not a satire on Monday or any other literary man.

Nicholson (*Ben Jonson's Plays*, Mermaid edition, i, 13) supposes that the following words in *Every Man in his Humour* are a hit at Monday: „One is a rhymmer, sir, o' your own batch, your own leaven; but doth think himself poet-major o' the town, willing to be shown, and worthy to be seen.“ (E. M. in H. i, 1). If so, the hit is contained in the single word „poet-major“; for the lines refer to Matthew, who turns out to be a mere plagiarist and parody-maker. His character is not in the least like that of Antonio Balladino or of Antony Monday. Matthew is certainly not a caricature of any known literary man; and except for Nicholson and Penniman, no critic has thought him such¹⁾).

In the quarto edition of *Every Man in his Humour*, i, 2, however, there is one clear hit at Monday which was expunged by Jonson in his revision of the play. It reads thus: „But (grant that Lorenzo) live in more penury of wit and invention than either the Hall Beadle or Poet Nuntius.“ Now Monday had been, as we have seen, Messenger (Nuntius) of Her Majesty's Chamber; the reference must be to him (cf. *Antiquary*, VI, 107).

Deliro (i. e., Madman) in *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1599/1600, Fleay says, is „possibly Monday“ (Chr. i, 360); I infer that he takes Fallace (i. e., Deceitful) for Mrs. Monday, an otherwise unknown personage. Deliro, Jonson tells us, is „a good doting citizen, who, it is thought, might be of the common-council for his wealth; a fellow sincerely besotted on his own wife, and so rapt with a conceit of her perfections that he simply holds himself unworthy of her.“ (*Chars. of Persons*, p. 114). Fallace is „Deliro's wife, and idol; a proud mincing peat, and as perverse as he is officious. She dotes as perfectly upon the courtier (Fastidius Brisk) as her husband doth on her, and only wants the face to be dishonest.“ (*Chars. of Persons*, p. 114). It is evident without discussion that in

¹⁾ Penniman's identification of Matthew with Daniel I shall discuss later.

these two characters we have no reference to Monday or to any other person known to us. Albius and Chloe in the Poetaster are very similar, and likewise contain no hit at Monday.

As I have already remarked, there is absolutely no ground for Fleay's supposition that Timothy Tweedle in Jack Drum may be a caricature of Monday.

Penniman identifies Puntarvolo in Every Man out of his Humour with Amorphus in Cynthia's Revels, and Amorphus with Monday. The identification Puntarvolo-Monday he rests solely on the identification of Amorphus with Monday (War 64). To the latter point he devotes considerable space (War 89—96). Since I have already quoted in full Jonson's characterization of Puntarvolo and Amorphus, I need only repeat that Amorphus is a self-conceited traveller, first, last, and always; and that Puntarvolo has three distinct „humours“ — his love for animals, his desire to preserve the courtesy of the old romances, and his fondness for „dealing on returns“. Amorphus was a traveller; so, Penniman truly says, was Monday. Amorphus makes poetry without marrying „a word of short quantity to a long note“; Monday made poetry, without, however, troubling himself about the rules of the Areopagus. Amorphus feels injured because he is not allowed (iv, 1) to write the masque instead of Crites; Monday, says Penniman, was Jonson's rival in masque-writing. On these extremely flimsy grounds rests the whole identification, not only of Amorphus with Monday, but of Puntarvolo with Amorphus and with Monday.

The identifications are wholly unwarranted. In the first place, Penniman has neglected the fact that the characters of Amorphus and of Monday touch only one of the three humours of Puntarvolo; hence, even if Amorphus is Monday, it is by no means clear that Puntarvolo is also Monday. But Amorphus is not Monday. When Jonson had so plainly and bitterly satirized Monday in *The Case is Altered*, surely he could have found more pungent ridicule than the mere emphasizing of the fact that Monday, like most other prominent man, had travelled; the „satire“ would be pointless. Further, the character of Amorphus is not a personal satire at all, but simply a hit at the general self-conceit of travelers. In *Marmion's Antiquary*, first acted

shortly before 1636, Petrutio repeats the character of Amorphus. Petrutio, on his return home after a long course of travel, describes himself thus:

„I have calculated, by all the rules of reason and art, that I shall be a great man; for, what singular quality concurs to perfection and advancement, that is defective in me? Take my feature and proportion; have they not a kind of sweetness and harmony to attract the eyes of the beholders? the confirmation of which, many authentical judgments of ladies have seal'd and subscrib'd to. . . . Next, my behaviour and discourse, according to the Court-garb, ceremonious enough, more promising than substantial, able to keep pace with the best hunting wit of them all: besides, nature has bless'd me with boldness sufficient, and fortune with means. . . . I feel of late a strong and witty genius growing upon me, and I begin, I know not how, to be in love with this foolish sin of poetry“ (i, 1, pp. 201—3, *Marmion*, in *Dramatists of the Restoration*, Edinburgh and London, 1875).

Lionel says: „This traveling motion has been abroad in quest of strange fashions, where his spungy brain has suck'd the dregs of all the folly he could possibly meet with, and is indeed more ass than he went forth.“ (idem, p. 202). Petrutio, then, is identical with Amorphus; whether the character is plagiarized from that of Amorphus or not, the parallelism proves my point — that when there was no possibility of personal satire, Petrutio was recognized by contemporaries as a hit at travellers in general, and that thirty-five years earlier the character of Amorphus must certainly have been interpreted in the same way.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that in 1598 Jonson twice satirized Monday, and that in August, 1599, Marston likewise assailed him. Jonson's sole motive might seem to have been envy of Monday's popularity as a pageant-writer and of his distinguished place in Meres' book; the character of Antonio seems to have been hastily added to the already complete play *The Case is Altered* upon the publication of *Palladis Tamia*. Since, however, Jonson declared in 1601 that other poets had provoked him for three years, and since most of Monday's plays

are lost, it is possible that Monday may have been badgering him upon the stage. Since, as I shall show, there is no evidence that Jonson quarrelled seriously with any other man before 1599, this possibility becomes a probability.

Marston attacked Monday, I think, simply because Jonson hated him. As we have already seen, Marston seems to have been very intimate with Jonson until the latter part of 1599. What is more natural than that he, in assailing the actors and poets of the „common stages“, should have chosen as the personification of the „ballad-monger“ playwright the man who was at the moment the pet detestation of his friend?

There is no evidence that Monday made any attempt to revenge himself upon either man, or that he had any share in the Jonson-Poetaster quarrel properly so-called.

SAMUEL DANIEL.

Samuel Daniel was born near Taunton in 1562. He studied at Oxford three years, but left in 1582 without a degree. In 1586, he seems to have gone with Lord Stafford to France, and at some time before 1592 he visited Italy. He was successively tutor to William Herbert, son of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, and nephew of Sir Philip Sidney, and to Lady Anne Clifford. At the accession of James, he won the favour of the Queen, and became Supervisor of the Children of the Queen's Revels (1603—4), and later Groom of the Queen's Privy Chamber. He died in 1619. His literary works show not the slightest allusion to the great quarrel, and I believe that he had no share in it. Since, however, Fleay and Penniman have built up a very elaborate theory with regard to Daniel's participation in the wit-combat, I must discuss the evidence.

Jonson and Daniel were certainly not on the best of terms. Jonson told Drummond in 1619 that „Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children; but no poet.“ (Conversations, Sh. Soc., 1842, p. 2); and again that „Daniel was at jealousies with him“ (Id. p. 10).

In a poetical epistle to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, printed in the Forest, Jonson reiterates the same idea. He says:

„You, and that other star, that purest light
Of all Lucina's train, Lucy the bright¹⁾;
Than which a nobler heaven itself knows not;
Who, though she hath a better verser got,
Or poet, in the court account, than I,

¹⁾ Lucy, Countess of Bedford, daughter of Sir John Harington.

And who doth me, though I not him, envy,
 Yet for the timely favours she hath done
 To my less sanguine muse, wherein she hath won
 My grateful soul, the subject of her powers,
 I have already used some happy hours,
 To her remembrance."

That Fleay is right in making this passage refer to Daniel and in dating it about 1604 (Chr. i, 91), I have no doubt; for in 1603 Daniel addressed a long poetical epistle to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and in the same year was recommended by her to James as a good writer for the court. Consequently, his first masque, *A Vision of Twelve Goddesses*, was presented on January 8, 1603/4. Jonson's words „my less sanguine muse“, unnoticed by Fleay, also indicate that Daniel is meant; they are an allusion to his *Civil Wars*, the first five books of which had appeared in 1595.

Further, Jonson in several places ridicules Daniel's verse. In *Every Man in his Humour* v, 1 (folio), Clement reads from Mathew's poetry:

„Unto the boundless ocean of thy face
 Runs this poor river, charged with streams of eyes“,

and exclaims: „How? this is stolen“; whereupon Edward Knowell cries:

„A parody! a parody! with a kind of miraculous gift to make it absurder than it was.“

The parody is upon the opening lines of Daniel's *Sonnets to Delia*:

„Unto the boundless ocean of thy beauty
 Runs this poor river, charged with streams of zeal.“

In the corresponding passage of the quarto, Mathew (Matheo) quotes directly from the first sonnet to Delia, and when questioned about the authorship, professes to have „translated that out of a book called Delia.“ There is no further comment on the passage.

Again, in *Every Man out of his Humour*, iii, 1, p. 176, Fastidius Brisk, in speaking of his mistress, says: „You shall see ‚sweet silent rhetoric‘ and ‚dumb eloquence speaking in her eye‘; but when she speaks herself, such an anatomy of wit, so

sinewized and arterized, that 'tis the goodliest model of pleasure that ever was to behold." This contains a parody on lines 128—130 of Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond:

„Sweet silent rhetoric of persuading eyes,
Dumb eloquence, whose power doth move the blood
More than the words or wisdom of the wise.“

The words in-ize, however, are by no means exclusively characteristic of Daniel. In the 910 lines of the Complaint of Rosamond, for example, I have found only four such words — „subtilize“ 228, „idolatrize“ 154, „partialize“ 360, and „wantonize“ 371. Spenser's Faery Queen shows as large a proportional number of them; and, though often ridiculed as Italianate, they were very commonly employed by most of the writers of the day. Nashe, among others, used them much; in the Preface to Christ's Tears, 1594, he apologizes to „the second rank of reprehenders, that complain of my boisterous compound words, and ending my Italianate coined verbs all in-ize, such as tympanize, tyrannize.“

Fleay thinks (Chr. i, 374) that he finds an allusion to Daniel in Volpone, referring to the following passage:

„Here's Pastor Fido . . . All our English writers,
I mean such as are happy in th' Italian,
Will deign to steal out of this author, mainly;
Almost as much as from Montaignie.
He has so modern and facile a vein,
Fitting the time, and catching the court-ear.“ iii, 2, p. 66.

In the Silent Woman, ii, 1, (1609), Jonson again refers to Daniel, not, however, in a necessarily disparaging way. He says: „Or so she may censure poets, and authors, and styles, and compare them; Daniel with Spenser, Jonson with the t'other youth, and so forth.“ Fleay makes „the t'other youth“ Daniel (Chr. i, 92); this is hardly possible; for in 1609 Daniel was forty-seven years old — certainly not youthful in the estimation of Elizabethan England. If I were to guess at the identity of „the t'other youth“, I should say that he was Marston, who was just two years younger than Jonson, and who had written satiric comedies quite in Jonson's manner. The question is of no importance.

Finally, in the *Staple of News*, 1625, iii, 1, Jonson quotes as follows: „Dumb rhetoric, and silent eloquence“, as the fine poet says;“ — another hit at Daniel’s expression in *Rosamond*.

These jests of Jonson at Daniel’s expense have been comparatively harmless. I shall now discuss the question whether the latent ill-feeling between the two men found a fuller expression in any of the comedies of the stage-quarrel. So far as the plays *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Patient Grissel*, *Cynthia’s Revels*, the *Poetaster*, and *Bartholomew Fair* are concerned, Penniman simply reiterates Fleay’s arguments and endorses his views (*War* 52—55; 70; 81—84; 109). I shall therefore, in discussing the so-called Daniel allusions in those plays, speak of Fleay only.

EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR AND PATIENT GRISSEL. Fleay says: *Fastidius Brisk* (in *Every Man out of his Humour*) must be Daniel, because, as we have seen, he quotes Daniel’s words (*Chr. i*, 360). If *Brisk* is Daniel, then *Brisk’s* mistress *Saviolina* must be Daniel’s mistress *Delia*, that is, *Lady Elizabeth Carey* (*Chr. i*, 360 and *i*, 86). Now *Brisk* fights a duel with *Luculento* (*E. M. out of H. iv*, 4), which duel closely corresponds with that fought by *Emulo* and *Owen* in *Patient Grissel* iii, 2 (*Chr. i*, 271, 361). Moreover, *Emulo*, like *Brisk*, uses strange Italianate terms (*Chr. i*, 271), and, in ii, 1, is called „brisk spangled baby“ (*Chr. i*, 361). Hence *Emulo* is *Brisk*, that is, Daniel. But *Emulo* has loved *Gwenethyan*, who, nevertheless, marries *Owen*. (This love-affair is the cause of the duel). Since *Emulo* is Daniel, and since Daniel’s mistress *Delia* is *Lady Elizabeth Carey*, who married *Lord Berkeley*, *Emulo’s* mistress *Gwenethyan* must be *Elizabeth Carey*, and *Sir Owen* must be *Lord Berkeley* (*Chr. i*, 272)¹.

I have tried to state Fleay’s arguments as convincingly as possible. Let us see what they are worth. Fleay says that *Brisk* is Daniel, because he uses Daniel’s words; but the plays of the time are full of quotations, some made seriously, some in ridicule; and not even Fleay would say that the characters

¹) Penniman adds only that Daniel, like *Brisk*, knew several of the nobility (*War* 54). So did almost every one of the noted authors of the day.

uttering the quotations necessarily or even usually represent the authors of them. The case of Clove in *Every Man out of his Humour* is exactly like that of Brisk. Into Clove's mouth Jonson puts, evidently in ridicule, a number of outrageous words that are eminently characteristic of Marston (iii, 1). Nevertheless, as I have proved conclusively, and as Fleay himself acknowledges, Clove is not meant for Marston. Moreover, the character of Daniel is totally and hopelessly irreconcilable with that of Brisk. Daniel was a staid, serious-minded gentleman, given to private meditation. This is proved by the facts of his life and the explicit and implicit testimony of his contemporaries, including Jonson himself (*Conv. with Drummond*, p. 2: „good honest man“.); his style bears evidence to the same effect. „His style“, says Gosse in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, „is full, easy, and stately, without being very animated or splendid. He is wanting in fire and passion, but he is pre-eminent in scholarly grace and tender, mournful revery.“ *Fastidius Brisk*, on the contrary, is a „society man“ in the worst sense. „A neat, spruce affecting courtier; one that wears clothes well and in fashion; practiseth by the glass, how to salute; speaks good remnants, notwithstanding the base viol and tobacco; swears tersely, and with variety; cares not what lady's favour he belies, or great man's familiarity; a good property to perfume the boot of a coach. He will borrow another man's horse to praise, and backs him as his own. Or, for a need, on foot can post himself into credit with his merchant, only with the gingle of his spur, and the jerk of his wand.“ (*Chars. of Persons*). That Brisk should quote from Daniel is exactly what we should expect; for Jonson expressly tells us that Brisk „speaks good remnants“, and, as we must always remember, the sonnets to *Delia* were among the most popular verses of the day.

Like Fleay, I identify *Emulo* with Brisk, although I esteem Fleay's argument with regard to the use of the word „brisk“ as worthless. The word „brisk“ was commonly applied to dandies; e. g., „We shall be curried with the brisk phrases And pricksong terms he (*Don Fashion*) hath premeditate.“ *Guilpin's Skiaetheia*, Sat. v). *Briscus* is a name twice applied to an affected dandy by Marston (*Sat. i*, 18; *ii*, 124). In

Satiromastix, p. 212, Dekker speaks of foolish gallants as „these spangle babies, these true heirs of Master Justice Shallow“. As I have already said, neither Brisk nor Emulo has any real individuality; they are emphatically not literary men, but simply affected courtiers, types of a large class. It is, then, almost impossible that either Brisk or Emulo is meant for Daniel.

Leaving that extreme improbability aside for the moment, however, and accepting for the sake of argument Fleay's identification of Delia with Lady Elizabeth Carey, let us turn to Saviolina and Gwenthyan, both of whom Fleay identifies with Mistress Carey¹). Saviolina is Brisk's mistress. Her name

¹) The identification of Delia with Elizabeth Carey is at best doubtful. Of „Delia“ we know only that she lived in the West of England, and had a seat upon some Avon (58th Sonnet to Delia). The identification of her with Mary, Countess of Pembroke, is incorrect; for it rests only on the heading of the first sonnet in the edition of 1592: „To M. P.“ But M. P. does not stand for Mary Pembroke; for, as Grosart has shown (Daniel's Works, i, p. xviii), M. P. was a MAN, whose devices were „a pine tree“ and a „pinnacle“. Fleay (Chr. i, 85) guesses that the name may have been M(aster) P(yne); I take M. for the initial of some christian name, rather than for the abbreviation for Master. Such punning devices were very common; see, for example, Harington's device appended to his Anatomy of Ajax (Hare-Ring-Tun). Fleay did not notice that in Daniel's sonnet addressed to M. P. (Grosart numbers it 29) there are three distinct puns on the word „pine“. M. P., then, was a man, whose name was probably Pyne; and Delia was not the Countess of Pembroke.

Fleay identifies her with Elizabeth Carey, whose wit, says Nashe in the dedication of *Terrours of the Night*, 1594, is acknowledged miraculous „by the wittiest Poets of our age, who have vowed to enshrine you as their second Delia“ (Grosart's edition of Nashe's Works, iii, 214). Jonson was one of these poets. Fleay says that the first Delia was Queen Elizabeth (Chr. i, 86), and that Elizabeth Carey was Daniel's Delia. He has shown from a letter in Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, iii, 573 (so Fleay gives the reference; it should read: Nichols' *Progresses of Elizabeth*, III, 578), that in 1602, Sir George Carey, the Lady Elizabeth Carey's father, had a residence at Bath, upon the Lower Avon (Chr. i, 98).

It is, then, possible that Elizabeth Carey may be the Delia of Daniel's Sonnets. I do not, however, think it likely. Fleay has misinterpreted Nashe's words. The first Delia is just the person whom we should expect her to be — Daniel's Delia. That the Queen had no peculiar claim to the name Delia is sure. Mary Pembroke, for example, was called Delia (Chr. i, 99). The

means something like „sweet little lady“, and with that name her whole character accords. She is, says Jonson, „a court lady, whose weightiest praise is a light wit, admired by herself and one more, her servant Brisk.“ (Chars. of Persons). She is an excellent example of the type-characters loved by Jonson, each of which stands for one trait of character, and one alone. Since she is a mere personification of frivolity, with no individual characteristics, it is improbable that the character is personally satirical at all. Further, in assuming that if Brisk is Daniel, Brisk's mistress must be Delia, Fleay employs a fallacy whose viciousness is apparent enough in itself, and will soon, when I discuss the characters of Philautia and Luculento, appear even more clearly. Moreover, the words from Daniel which Brisk quotes in praise of Saviolina are not applied by Daniel to Delia, but to Rosamond, or rather to abstract beauty as shadowed forth in Rosamond. Finally, Elizabeth Carey, who, if Fleay's hypothesis is correct, is Delia, married Lord Berkeley shortly after 1594; but in 1599 Brisk was still courting the unmarried Saviolina. Even if he suppose, then, that Brisk is Daniel and that Mistress Carey was Daniel's Delia, the identity of Saviolina with Mistress Carey is not merely not established, but even very improbable.

Further, even if Brisk were meant for Daniel, which he is not, and Saviolina were meant for Daniel's Delia, which she is not, Gwenthyan could not be Delia; for Gwenthyan has not a single characteristic in common with Saviolina, the self-conceited court lady. Gwenthyan is a shrew, introduced simply to enliven the play by her Welsh dialect and by her animated quarrels with Sir Owen.

If Gwenthyan is not Delia, then Fleay's whole argument that Saviolina is Delia breaks down completely; for that hypothesis rests solely on the idea that if Brisk is Daniel,

main support of Fleay's hypothesis, then, has been destroyed. Moreover, even in 1594, Elizabeth Carey was very young. Nashe speaks of her as „the new kindled cleare Lampe of Virginitie“ (Works, iii, 213), and ascribes all previous favours not to her, but to her mother. In 1591, then, when the first sonnets to Delia were piratically issued, she must have been only a child. Daniel was then twenty-nine.

Brisk's mistress Saviolina must be Daniel's mistress Delia. But, as we have seen, Emulo is Brisk; but Emulo's mistress Gwenthyan cannot be the same as Saviolina, and hence, if Saviolina is Delia, cannot be Delia. If Brisk is Daniel, then Emulo is Daniel. But Emulo's mistress Gwenthyan is not Daniel's mistress Delia; hence we have no right to infer that Brisk's mistress Saviolina is Daniel's mistress Delia.

Again, Fleay infers that, since Emulo is Daniel, Sir Owen, who marries Emulo's mistress Gwenthyan and with whom Emulo fights the duel, is Lord Berkeley, who married Daniel's mistress Elizabeth Carey (Chr. i, 272); but, strangely enough, he affirms (Chr. i, 361) that Luculento, with whom Brisk (-Emulo) fights his duel on a lovers' quarrel, is not Lord Berkeley, but Drayton. This shows that Fleay himself tacitly acknowledges the futility of his methods of identification.

I have shown, then, that Fleay's attempted identification Emulo = Brisk = Daniel, Gwenthyan = Saviolina = Elizabeth Carey (Delia), and Sir Owen (= Luculento; but Fleay says Luculento = Drayton) = Lord Berkeley, fails literally at every point except that Emulo = Brisk. Emulo and Brisk are not Daniel; if they were, Gwenthyan could not be the same as Saviolina, and neither Saviolina nor Gwenthyan could be Elizabeth Carey (Delia); much less could Sir Owen be Lord Berkeley; moreover, as we have seen, the identification of Delia with Elizabeth Carey is very doubtful. We have thus far found no evidence that either Jonson or the authors of *Patient Grissel* wrote a personal satire upon Daniel.

CYNTHIA'S REVELS. Hedon and his mistress Philautia, Fleay correctly says, are in part repetitions of the characters of Brisk and Saviolina. Since Brisk and Saviolina, he continues, are meant for Daniel and Elizabeth Carey, Hedon and Philautia must also be so meant. To be sure, in *Satiromastix*, Scene ii, Dekker distinctly identifies Hedon with Marston. „But“, says Fleay, „Dekker is certainly wrong; Daniel was the man intended.“ „In iv, 1“, he goes on, „Philautia, Hedon's lady, says: ‚I should be some Laura or some Delia, methinks‘; and Daniel in his Delia sonnets calls his lady ‚a Laura‘, Sonnet 40. This is quite inapplicable to Marston, or indeed to any one but Daniel.

I think the explanation of this wrong attribution of Daniel allusions to Marston led to the reconciliation to Jonson in 1601." (Chr. i, 363—4). Again he says: „Hedon is ,a rhymer, and that's thought better than a poet'. Jonson called Daniel ,a good honest man, but no poet'." „But", Fleay continues, „the conclusive passage is in v, 2. Crites says to Hedon: ,You that tell your mistress her beauty is all composed of theft; her hair, stole from Apollo's goldy locks; her white and red, lilies stolen out of Paradise; her eyes, two stars plucked from the sky,' etc. Compare the lines in (Daniel's) Sonnet 19:

,Restore thy tresses to the golden ore,
Yield Cytherea's son those arcs of love,
Bequeath the heavens the stars that I adore,
And to the Orient do thy pearls remove, . . .
Restore thy blush unto Aurora bright.'“ (Chr. i, 96—7).

How much is all this worth? I have just shown that Fleay's fundamental reason for identifying Hedon with Daniel — namely, that Brisk is Daniel, and Hedon is Brisk — is false. Let us see, however, if Hedon in himself seems like a caricature of Daniel. As I have already pointed out, Hedon is not merely one of a class, like Brisk, but a thoroughly individual character, far from destitute of wit, malicious rather than foolish, and full of wondrous conceits in rhymes. The character is drawn with the same caustic touch that delineated Crispinus; it is, in a word, what we should expect in a personal satire.

I have shown very strong reasons for believing that Hedon was, in so far as he is depicted as a poet and an enemy of Crites-Jonson, meant for Marston. Those reasons are not in the least invalidated by Fleay's arguments. Jonson, says Fleay, called both Hedon and Daniel rhymers, but no poets; so did he call, at least by implication, nearly every one of his contemporaries. Hedon's lady Philautia says that she „should be some Laura or some Delia“. Daniel called his lady a Laura. Yes, but only in saying that he could not sing her praises worthily, as Petrarch could the praises of Laura. I suspect that many ladies have been called Laura in the same way, by poetasters of many times and nations¹⁾. Philautia, in speaking

¹⁾ Compare Raleigh's sonnet addressed to the author, prefixed to the

of herself as a Laura or a Delia, very naturally uses the names of the two most famous be-sonneted ladies that ever lived. Fleay is always forgetting that at the end of the sixteenth century the names of Laura and Delia were so familiar as to be almost common nouns.

Hedon composed poems to his mistress in which he made her beauty „all composed of theft“. In no extant poem did Marston do this; in his nineteenth sonnet, says Fleay, Daniel did it; but even if he did, that style of verse is by no means peculiar to Daniel. Every Petrarchan, from Petrarch himself down to the youth of to-day, has written similar things.

Take, for example, the following lines:

„Who has robbed the ocean cave,
To tinge thy lips with coral hue?
Who from India's distant wave
For thee those pearly treasures drew?
Who from yonder orient sky
Stole the morning of thine eye?
Thousand charms, thy form to deck,
From sea, and earth, and air are torn;
Roses bloom upon thy cheek,
On thy breath their fragrance borne.
Guard thy bosom from the day,
Lest thy snows should melt away.“

J. Shaw (1778—1809), in Knowles' *Golden Treasury of American Songs and Lyrics*, Boston, 1898, p. 3.

Nor is it necessarily not characteristic of Marston; for a poet so prominent in social life as Marston must have written a large amount of complimentary and occasional verse, practically the whole of which has perished. Further, since the character of Hedon is only in part a satire on Marston, there is the possibility that in this particular point Jonson was not ridiculing Marston at all, but was, after the fashion of his time, using

Faery Queen. Also: „And soon perceive, I see, A Laura in her face, and not a Willoughbie.“ (*Nugae Antiquae*, ii, 390). A song in Dowland's *First Book of Songs*, Arber's *English Garner*, iv, 41, is addressed to Laura, the name being apparently taken from that of Petrarch's mistress. In Marston's *S. of V.*, viii, 138, a lover's mistress is called Laura. So Kingsley says: „I was a new Petrarch, basking in the light-rays of a new Laura.“ (*Alton Locke*, Macmillan, 1882, p. 175).

Hedon-Marston as a stalking-horse to hit the follies of others. I think, however, that Daniel's sonnet contains no idea of theft, but simply that of gift. I believe that Lodge's thirty-third sonnet in *Phillis*, 1593, is exactly parallel. It reads as follows:

„When first sweet Phillis (whom I must adore)
 Gau with her beauties blesse our wondring skie,
 The sonne of Rhea, from their fatall store
 Made all the Gods to grace her Majestie.
 Apollo first his golden rayes among,
 Did forme the beauty of her bounteous eyes;
 He grac't her with his sweet melodious song,
 And made her subject of his poesies.
 The warrior Mars, bequeath'd her fierce disdaine,
 Venus her smile, and Phoebe all her fayre,
 Python his voyce, and Ceres all her graine,
 The morne her lockes and fingers did repayre,
 Young Love, his bowe, and Thetis gave her feete;
 Clio her praise, Pallas her science sweete.“

Compare also Lyly's famous lines in *Alexander and Campaspe*, iii, 5, in which Campaspe wins from Cupid all his beauties. See also *Willobie his Avis*, Cant. i.

Fleay's idea that „the explanation of this wrong attribution of Daniel allusions to Marston led to the reconciliation to Jonson in 1601“ is especially unreasonable; for if Hedon is Daniel, then Anaiides must be Marston (*Chr.* i, 98), with whom he is actually identified by Penniman (*War* 77 ff.); since Anaiides is a much worse character than Hedon, I fail to see how Marston could have been comforted by the explanation.

My reasons for identifying Hedon, so far as the character is personally satirical, with Marston, founded as they are on the almost irrefragable testimony of Dekker, remain unshaken.

If Hedon is not Daniel, of course there is no reason for identifying Philautia with Elizabeth Carey (*Delia*). In character Philautia (Self-love) is identical with Saviolina. Philautia is surely not Mistress Carey; hence our certainty that Saviolina is not Mistress Carey becomes doubly sure.

THE POETASTER. Without a shadow of evidence or probability, Fleay identifies Daniel with Hermogenes Tigellius

(Chr. i, 97), an historical character, the description of whom Jonson took directly from Horace. Hermogenes, the peevish musician, has not a single trait in common with Daniel. With characteristic inconsistency, Fleay, later in the same volume (Chr. i, 367), identifies Daniel with Tibullus, another historical character in the same play. Of course he makes Tibullus' mistress Plantia the same as Daniel's mistress Delia. With regard to all attempted identifications of historic characters in the *Poetaster*, and all other Elizabethan plays, it is sufficient to say, as I have already said, that even if the author had in mind some contemporary person, the allusions to that person are necessarily unintelligible to us.

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR. To illustrate the possible relations of Jonson and Daniel, I must mention Fleay's fourth attack upon the Daniel-question, although it can have no direct connection with the quarrel of 1598—1602. Fleay discusses the matter in Chr. i, 94. First he calls attention, without quoting, to the forty-fifth epigram of Sir John Davies:

„Dacus with some good colour and pretence
Terms his love's beauty silent eloquence;
For she doth lay more colours on her face,
Than ever Tully used his speech to grace.“

Fleay then quotes Sir John Davies' epigram 30:

„Among the poets Dacus numbered is,
Yet he could never make an English rhyme;
But some prose speeches I have heard of his,
Which have been spoken many a hundred time.
The man that keeps the elephant hath one,
Wherein he tells the wonders of the beast;
Another Banks pronounced long ago,
When he his curtal's qualities expressed;
He first taught him that keeps the monuments
At Westminster his formal tale to say;
And also him which puppets represents;
And also him which with the ape doth play;
Though all his poetry be like to this,
Among the poets Dacus numbered is.“

Now Littlewit, in *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, furnishes the poetry for the puppets. This, Fleay thinks, identifies him with the Dacus of Epigram 30. The name Dacus identifies this

Dacus with the subject of Epigram 45. Since Dacus of Epigram 45 „calls his love's beauty silent eloquence“, he, and consequently Dacus of Epigram 30 and Littlewit, must be Daniel. This conclusion is supported, Fleay thinks, by the fact that Cokes „inquires at the puppet-show booth for the master of the monuments“, and by the lines „Hang the author's (Littlewit's) wife! Here be ladies will stay for ne'er a Delia of them all.“ (v, 3). Fleay thinks, too, that the Children of the Queen's Revels, to which company „Daniel had been manager and licenser“, are ridiculed as the puppets.

Let us consider the minor points first. There is no indication that any child-actors are satirized. Such an idea is disproved by the very fact that Lanthorn Leatherhead (Inigo Jones, the scenic artist of the court masques) is the exhibitor of them; Jones had nothing to do with the child-players. At the date of this play, according to Fleay's own statement (Chr. i, 92), Daniel had had nothing to do with the Children of the Queen's Revels for nearly ten years. Fleay's arguments that Mrs. Littlewit is Elizabeth Carey are worthless. She has nothing whatever in common with Saviolina, Philautia, or Gwenthyran, all of whom Fleay identifies with Mistress Carey. Here Fleay makes Elizabeth Carey the wife of Littlewit-Daniel; in *Every Man out of his Humour*, he makes her mistress of Brisk-Daniel; in *Patient Grissel*, as in real life, the wife of another. This inconsistency is ridiculous. As for the „Delia“, I have already explained that the name had become practically a common noun. With regard to „the master of the monuments“, Cokes in fact asks not Littlewit, but an assistant, if he is the master of the monuments. There is no connection with Littlewit whatever.

I now come to the main problem. Dacus of Davies' Epigram 30 is surely in some respects very like Littlewit; both may be satires aimed at the same man. That Dacus of Epigram 30, however, is the same as Dacus of Epigram 45, is by no means sure. Our early satirists had a confusing habit of using only a small number of names, applying each to whatever use the moment demanded, with no regard for consistency. Sir John Harington, for example, employs the name Lynus in no less

than thirteen epigrams¹⁾, applying it to „a foolish satirist“ (i, 14), a poetaster (i, 67; ii, 11), a declaimer against the nobility (ii, 42), a borrower (ii, 74; iii, 19; iv, 16), a liar (ii, 88), a promoter (ii, 98), an impudent man (iii, 13), and finally writing an epigram (iii, 14) „against an unthrifty Lynus“ who had tried all trades and succeeded in none. The single article „an“ is sufficient to establish my point. So, too, Marston speaks of „some lewd Tubrio“ (S. of V. In Lect. 76). Even if the two Dacuses be the same, Dacus of Epigram 45 is not intended for Daniel; for Daniel does not, like Dacus, term „his love's beauty silent eloquence“; as I have previously noted, the phrase refers not to Delia, but to ideal beauty as shown in Rosamond. Fleay has again failed to recognise the familiarity of Daniel's works to the Elizabethans. If Dacus of Epigram 45 is not Daniel, there is not the slightest reason for supposing the other Dacus and Littlewit to be intended for him.

I have shown, then, by answering Fleay's arguments in detail, by citing the authority of Dekker, and by appealing to all the known facts about Daniel's life and temperament, that Fleay has failed to establish any probability whatever that Daniel at any time personally satirized any of his brother authors or was personally satirized by them.

Penniman has added one more identification, less substantial, if possible, than Fleay's. He says (War 25—30) that Mathew in *Every Man in his Humour* is meant for Daniel. His argument rests solely on the facts that Mathew plagiarizes from Marlowe, and, in the quarto text, from Daniel, while in the folio he misquotes Daniel „with a kind of miraculous gift to make it absurder than it was.“ So far from being evidence that Mathew is Daniel, this is conclusive evidence that Mathew is not Daniel, for surely Daniel would not be represented as plagiarizing from himself²⁾.

¹⁾ Book i, numbers 10, 14, 67; ii, 11, 42, 74, 88, 98; iii, 13, 14, 19, 42; iv, 16.

²⁾ As for Penniman's assertion that „Daniel's language is evidently ridiculed by Mathew's expression ‚un-in-one-breath-utterable skill‘“ (War 26), Penniman has not attempted to show that such words are characteristic of Daniel; nor could he show it, for such words were used by all. Compare:

Daniel, then, had no demonstrable share in the great quarrel.

With the proof that Daniel was not one of the Poetasters, the name of Drayton also disappears from the list. For Fleay, who has dragged Drayton's name into connection with the great quarrel, rests his assertions largely on the supposed fact that Jonson satirized Daniel. Fleay affirms that „the true beginning of the quarrel lay in the rivalry of the poets patronised by Mary Countess of Pembroke; Jonson and Donne, Daniel and Drayton¹⁾,“ (Chr. i, 97) and identifies Luculento, the undescribed character in *Every Man out of his Humour*, with whom Brisk fights his duel on account of a woman, with Drayton (Chr. i, 361).

By his first statement, Fleay evidently means to imply that Daniel and Drayton were arrayed against Jonson and Donne. I suppose the idea is founded upon Jonson's words with regard to Daniel and Drayton reported by Drummond, and upon Jonson's well-known friendship for Donne. But very little weight can be attached to Jonson's remark that Drayton „feared him, and he esteemed not of him.“ (Conv. with Drummond, p. 10.) His judgment of Drayton's works is almost as favourable as of Donne's. Of him he says: „That Michael Drayton's *Polyolbion*, if (he) had performed what he promised to writte (the deeds of all the Worthies) had been excellent; his long verses pleased him not.“ (Idem, p. 2). Jonson's hearty tribute prefixed to the folio edition of Drayton's Works in 1627 (Underwoods xvi) is, in the absence of any definite allusion to a quarrel

„to-and-fro-conflicting wind and rain“ (Lear iii, 1, 11); „long-with-love-acquainted eyes“ (Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet 31).

¹⁾ Michael Drayton was born near Hartshill in Warwickshire in 1563, and died in London in 1631. Of his life, little is known except his devoted attachment to the „*Idea*“ of his sonnets — a certain Anne Goodere, who, as early as 1595 or 1596, married Henry Rainsford of Clifford Chambers in Gloucestershire. Drayton's personal character was above reproach.

His voluminous works include: *Idea*, nine Eclogues, 1593; various Poetical Legends, 1593—6; *Endimion and Phoebe*, 1594; *Idea's Mirrour*, 1594; *Mortimeriados*, 1596 (revised, and issued as *The Barons' Wars* in 1603); *England's Heroical Epistles*, 1597; many plays, all lost except *Oldcastle*, which was written in collaboration with three other men; *Poems Lyric and Pastoral*, 1606; and *Polyolbion*, the famous geographical poem, 1613—1622.

between the two men, sufficient evidence that no such quarrel took place.

Fleay identifies Luculento, the antagonist of Brisk, with Drayton, because he believes that Brisk represents Daniel, and that Daniel and Drayton had a violent quarrel with regard to the patronage of Lucy, Countess of Bedford. I have already pointed out Fleay's inconsistency in identifying Brisk's opponent Luculento with Drayton while he identifies Emulo's antagonist Sir Owen with Lord Berkeley. I have, further, shown that by no possibility can either Brisk or Emulo be meant for Daniel. Consequently, there is not the slightest reason for supposing Luculento to be meant for Drayton.

It is easy, however, to go a step further, and to show that at the appearance of *Every Man out of his Humour* no such quarrel about the Countess of Bedford can have occurred between Daniel and Drayton. Fleay assumes such a quarrel for two reasons. First, from Jonson's *Epistle to the Countess of Rutland* (which, though not dated, must have been written about 1604) we learn that the Countess of Bedford had offended Jonson by taking up a new „verser“. This new „verser“ was doubtless Daniel. Secondly, Fleay holds that Drayton, at just about this time, became furiously enraged against the Countess of Bedford because she had given her patronage to a new poet. Oliver Elton (*Introduction to Michael Drayton*, London, Spenser Society, 1895) has well handled this alleged estrangement. I quote his words: „The evidence quoted is two-fold. (1) In 1603 came out the *Barons' Wars*, which was the *Mortimeriados* of nine years earlier wholly recast. All the compliments to the Countess (of Bedford), including the opening stanzas and other allusions, are expunged, Sir Walter Aston's name being substituted as patron. (2) In the *Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall*, 1606, where the *Pastorals* of 1593 are remodelled, the eighth, formerly sixth, contains a new passage reviling a certain Selena in terms, which, were they addressed to any real woman, would be brutal even if just. Selena had promised to raise the estate of Rowland (Drayton), but, breaking faith, has allied herself with a certain base Cerberon. Therefore, cries the poet, let age sit soon and ngly on her brow, and let no one strew flowers

on her forgotten grave, let her be remembered no more in rhyme. Cerberon is not identified; but it is said that this language must refer to Lady Bedford, and that Drayton, splenetic perhaps at supplies being withheld in favour of some new client, dealt her this low buffet in verse. I do not profess to interpret the passage, but the first piece of evidence is naught. For the sonnet beginning „Great lady, essence of my chiefest good“, already published in 1598 and 1599, was reprinted both in 1603 and in 1605¹⁾.“ (pp. 9—10).

Whatever we may think as to the identity of Selena, it is clear that no rupture between Drayton and the Countess of Bedford occurred before 1605, and hence that there can be no possible reference to such a quarrel in *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1699/1600. Moreover, in *Endimion and Phoebe*, 1594, Drayton wrote:

„And thou, the sweet Musaeus of these times,
Pardon my rugged and unfild rhymes,
Whose scarce invention is too mean and base,
When Delia's glorious muse doth come in place.“

This is a very evident allusion to Daniel. Again, Drayton favourably mentioned Daniel in connection with Sidney as late as 1605 (*Idea*, second dedicatory sonnet to the Reader). Elton, pp. 58—9.

So far as we know, then, Drayton, like Daniel, was not even remotely connected with the quarrel of Jonson and the Poetasters.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

I have traced in detail the course of the quarrel between Jonson and Dekker and Marston, from its origin in the acting of the *Marstonian Histriomastix* in the summer of 1599 to its climax in the presentation of *Satiromastix* in the late summer or early autumn of 1601, and have noted the mutterings of other disagreements between Jonson and Marston, which followed

¹⁾ This sonnet is addressed to the Countess of Bedford. Fleay wrongly says that it was „permanently withdrawn in the 1602, Oct. 8, edition.“ (Chr. i, 153).

after an interval of close friendship. I have decided that, as far as we can now see, both sides were in the wrong, but Jonson much more so than his opponents.

I have discussed the relations to the principals in this quarrel of Shakspeare, Monday, and Daniel, all of whom have been connected with the affair of the Poetasters by modern authorities, and have incidentally spoken of Harington, Rich, Lodge, Lyly, the Burbadges, Rowlands, Donne, Chapman, Henslowe, Whetstone, the anonymous author of *Parnassus*, and Drayton. Of the persons named, I have shown that Daniel, Drayton, Rich, Lodge, Lyly, the Burbadges, Rowlands, Donne, Chapman, Henslowe, and Whetstone had, so far as we can now learn, absolutely no share in the quarrel, either as attacked or attacking parties. Harington, too, certainly took no active part in it, and probably was not in any way connected with it. Monday, as I have shown, was certainly twice attacked by Jonson in 1598, and once by Marston in 1599; it is probable that he had given some offense; apparently he did not retaliate on his foes. The author of *Parnassus* criticized the works of many of his contemporaries, mildly ridiculed Marston's style, gave us a half-jocose portrait of Nashe, and mentioned Jonson and Shakspeare. Shakspeare, although attacked by Jonson merely as a member of the Chamberlain's company, administered to him „a purge that made him beray his credit“, by which „purge“ is probably meant the personal satire in the character of Ajax in *Troilus and Cressida*.

I have found no reference to Jonson before the summer of 1599; but in the Apologetical Dialogue of the autumn of 1601, Jonson declared that for three years before the appearance of the Poetaster in the early summer of that year, his adversaries had provoked him „with their petulant styles“. Two years might easily grow to three in the statement of an angry man; it is more likely, however, that Monday had cast reflections on Jonson in some of his lost plays written about 1598. Jonson added that the provocations had been made „on every stage“. If Monday took part in the quarrel, this was literally true; for, besides the Chapel Children, Jonson's own actors at that time, the only other recognized companies were the Admiral's men,

the Chamberlain's men, and the Paul's Boys. Before the appearance of the *Poetaster*, the Paul's Boys had performed Marston's *Histriomastix*, *Jack Drum*, and *What You Will*, and before the *Apologetical Dialogue* was written, they gave Dekker's *Satiromastix*; before the *Poetaster* appeared, the Chamberlain's men had hired Dekker to satirize Jonson, and in the autumn of 1601 they also played *Satiromastix* and Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida*; in 1598 and 1599 Monday had written several plays for Henslowe's company, the Admiral's men; if Monday ever satirized Jonson, it must have been in one of these plays, doubtless either *Valentine and Orson*, July 9, 1598 (Henslowe) or *Chance Medley*, August 19, 24, 1598.

I believe that only Jonson, Marston, Dekker, Shakspeare, and Monday had any share in the quarrel. At all events, careful research fails to show evidence that any other man took part in it. The elaborate structure of modern criticism has no foundation either in early testimony or in valid reasoning.

I have shown that the course of the whole affair was as follows: Probably Monday cast some reflections on Jonson in 1598; certainly Jonson twice attacked him in the latter part of that year, once in *Every Man in his Humour* and once in the first scene of *The Case is Altered*, apparently added to the play about January or February, 1598/9. Marston, then a close friend of Jonson, satirized Monday and tried to compliment Jonson in *Histriomastix*, acted in its revised form in August, 1599. Jonson took the intended compliment as an insult; nevertheless the quarrel between the two friends did not break out publicly until Jonson ridiculed Marston's vocabulary in *Every Man out of his Humour*, February or March, 1599/1600. Then followed rapidly several personally satirical plays — Marston's *Jack Drum*, 1600, Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, February or March, 1600/1, Marston's *What You Will*, March or April, 1601, and Jonson's *Poetaster*, about June, 1601. In *Cynthia's Revels* and the *Poetaster*, Jonson in his satire had coupled Dekker with Marston; Dekker then responded with *Satiromastix*, about August, 1601. Jonson wrote the *Apologetical Dialogue*, refusing to continue the contest. Either shortly after, or, more probably, shortly before that time, Shakspeare wrote *Troilus*

and Cressida, laughing at the whole quarrel, but holding Jonson up to ridicule most exasperatingly. So far as we now know, this was the last public manifestation of the quarrel. In the latter part of 1603, Marston and Jonson were fast friends.

The quarrel gave to us the greater part of two plays — The Poetaster and Satiromastix —, and considerable portions of eight others — The Case is Altered, Every Man in his Humour, Histriomastix, Every Man out of his Humour, Jack Drum, Cynthia's Revels, What You Will, and Troilus and Cressida. It deeply affected Jonson and Marston, and fairly shocked the latter writer into greatness, by making him discard the crudities and extravagances of his early style. So great, however, was the literary activity of the period that, although this quarrel caused much excitement at the moment, it speedily ceased to attract the attention of men.

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